UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN CANADA

BY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN CANADA submitted by CORA JANE VOYAGEUR in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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For Carly, Drew, Reeve and Brian

It has been a long road and winding road for all of us.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact and effectiveness of the Federal Employment Equity Act on Aboriginal people in Canada. It was designed to curb workplace discrimination on two fronts. The first deals with the reduction and elimination of pre-employment conditions such as unequal access to jobs or insufficient educational preparation. The second involves correcting systematic discrimination that prevents equal participation in the workplace. Although the Act has been in existence in Canada since 1986, there has been no comprehensive analysis conducted to assess the effectiveness for Aboriginal people. Its impact on Aboriginal people is important since Aboriginals occupy the lowest social and economic position in Canadian society and the legislation has the potential to greatly benefit them.

This study evaluates to what extent Aboriginal people have benefited from the program and determines whether the legislation's objective of improving the employment prospects of historically disadvantaged groups has been met. Comparisons are made between the progress of other designated groups under this legislation and Aboriginal people. This project identifies successful and unsuccessful employment equity models and offers interpretations about why specific programs are more beneficial than others.

The study has three parts. The first is secondary analysis with aggregate trends are drawn from a series of Legislated Employment Equity Program(LEEP) Annual Reports from federally regulated employers and Crown Corporations. The second is case studies involving: The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (financial sector), Alberta Government Telephones (communications sector), the University of Alberta (education sector) and

Syncrude Canada (resource sector). Similarities and differences between these organizations provide insights into their efforts toward achieving employment equity and their effectiveness. The third involves profiles of some employees currently employed, or who were employed, with a case study organization.

The analysis of the Native employment experience is significant to other employers or Crown Corporations who must maintain required levels of employees from the designated groups. Attracting and retaining Aboriginal employees is important to employers since the native community is the fastest growing segment of Canadian society and will represent a larger portion of the employee pool in the future.

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EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN CANADA

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW

1.0 Introduction

Canada is hailed as the land of opportunity. For the past several hundred years streams of immigrants from around the world have come to Canada to start a new life. Many can realize their dreams of owning land, making a better life for themselves or climbing to a higher rung on the socioeconomic ladder. They might not have fulfilled these dreams if they had remained in their country of origin.

Although the opportunities available in Canada appear substantial at first, the reality is quite different. It appears that the new land of opportunity has quickly developed social strata based on gender, class, and race. Porter (1973) states in *The Vertical Mosiac* that *Immigration and ethnic affiliation (or membership in a cultural group) have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada* (p. 73). The optimistic scenario of opportunity and prosperity most accurately describes the experience of primarily able-bodied, western European males who quickly moved to the top of the hierarchical society.[1]

The advantage experienced by these males in the social, business, and political milieu has continued for centuries. Although they represented a larger proportion of Canada's population in the early years, due mainly to early Canadian immigration policy that encouraged newcomers from the British Isles and western Europe, their representation in

---

[1] I am aware that immigration from eastern Europe also occurred at this time, but eastern Europeans did not achieve the same level of success as western Europeans.

Canada's population has declined in recent years. Canada's demographic mix has changed over time with subsequent immigration from Central and South America, the Middle East. India, the Caribbean, and Asia (Lowe & Krahn, 1993). As a result, the new non-white immigrants represent a larger proportion of the Canadian mosaic. However, the over representation of able-bodied, western-European males in the Canadian establishment has not waned. This over representation came at a cost to all others who do not fall into this category: women, disabled people, visible minorities, and Aboriginal people, whose experience in Canadian society has been much different from that of the able-bodied, western European males who populate the upper echelons of the business world.

> Traditionally most firms have regarded the white, non-disabled man as the desired worker for most positions aside from those traditionally regarded as women's work. Employment practices have consequently evolved based on the physical and cultural attributes of this favoured type of worker, placing other workers and job applicants at a disadvantage regardless of their abilities and qualifications. Over time, these practices have been so generally accepted and deeply embedded in the customary processes of the organization that they are seldom questioned or altered (Abella, 1984:34).

Women, the disabled, visible minorities, and Aboriginal people are not employed throughout the workplace hierarchies in equal proportion to their representation in Canadian society. This may indicate unequal access and barriers to opportunities for members of these groups. For example, the first *Employment Equity Annual Report* showed that non-Aboriginal, nondisabled and nonvisible minorities males dominate the top four occupational levels, all of which are high paying, high status positions (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988). Especially, males *who occupied 95% of the upper-level management positions, 70% of the middle or other managers category, 60% of the professionals category,* *80% of the semi-professionals and technicians category* (p. 31).

Employment opportunity for Aboriginal people in Canada is the topic of this study. Aboriginal people have had limited access to and participation in the Canadian workforce. Various programs, some legislated and some not, have been created to increase Aboriginal participation in the workforce. This study explores their success.

I examine Aboriginal employment under the Employment Equity Act. This study also allows a close examination and critique of Aboriginal employment equity initiatives undertaken by four case study organizations. Insights into the Aboriginal employees' experience within these companies are gained through in-depth interviews that probe their workplace.

This study is framed within the Employment Equity Act, which seeks to correct the unequal access to employment opportunities for members of the designated groups deemed to be historically disadvantaged: women, disabled people, visible minorities, and Aboriginal people (Abella, 1984). Disadvantage in the workplace existed through previously acceptable, or unrecognized, employment practices. These included systemic discrimination and/or arbitrary barriers that negatively affected and limited their workplace participation. Systemic discrimination is defined by the Abella Commission as *A general employment condition, specific practice, or approach to hiring or promotion that applies equally to everyone at the workplace but that negatively affects employment opportunity or advancement for specific groups of people* (p. 341). According to the Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association (1991), arbitrary barriers to employment include minimum height requirements, minimum education achievement levels, and minimum job experience.

These historically disadvantaged groups were the topic of a Royal Commission, chaired by Judge Rosalie Abella. The commission's mandate was to explore the most efficient, effective, and equitable means of promoting equality in employment for members of the designated groups. Recommendations to counter the effects of discrimination within the Canadian workforce are set forth in the *Report of the Commission on Equity in Employment.* Those recommendations led to the passage of the Employment Equity Act (Bill C-62) on June 27, 1986. The Employment Equity Act (1986) states:

> The purpose of this Act is to achieve equality in the work place so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reason unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of the goal, to correct conditions of disadvantage...by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating people in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodations of difference (Section 2).

The Act requires employers to create a more equitable workplace that reflects local demographics. It also dictates that employers implement special programs, such as recruitment campaigns, for the designated groups. Equity is measured through increased numbers and representation of designed group members throughout the workplace hierarchy. Abella (1984) stated:

> Notwithstanding the range of difference within and among the four designated groups, the consensus at practically every meeting the Commission held across Canada with women, native people, disabled persons, and visible minorities was that there was a need for government intervention to increase their equitable participation in the workplace. Their participation and unemployment rates, their income levels and their occupational segregation impelled them to seek such interventions (p. 19).

The Federal Employment Equity Act is designed to curb workplace discrimination on two fronts. One deals with the reduction and elimination of preemployment conditions such as unequal access to jobs. The second involves correcting systemic discrimination that prevents the equal participation by all groups in the workplace.

The Employment Equity Act aims to reduce the negative impact of the employment barriers inherent in Canadian society. The Act also aims to make ability the sole criterion in all employment decisions (Abella, 1984). However, factors not associated with a person's ability to do a job successfully, such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, and physical impairment, often influence the workplace hierarchy. Many applauded the implementation of this legislation, saying it was long overdue.

1.1 The Aboriginal Experience in Canada

In Canada, Aboriginal people have traditionally possessed few of the qualities that confer status in mainstream society: prestige, money, education, and important jobs. Therefore, Aboriginal people are included as one of the four designated groups deemed *disadvantaged* by Employment Equity legislation. The legislation is designed to help historically disadvantaged groups in Canada gain workplace equality. Thus, if the legislation helps those in the lowest social and economic stratum of society, Aboriginal people, then all Canadian society will improve to some extent.

It is not surprising that Canada's Aboriginal people occupy the lowest rung on the socioeconomic ladder. Canada's Aboriginal population is small and has limited political power. Statistics Canada, in the 1991 Census of Canada, enumerated the Canadian

Aboriginal population at 1,002,675[2] (Statistics Canada, 1993b). Sloan and Hill (1995) provide a more recent estimate of 1,191,000 (p. ix).[3] Thus Aboriginal people comprise approximately 4% of the Canadian population.

Aboriginal people are among the country's poorest and least educated according to Statistics Canada's (1993b) *Aboriginal Peoples Survey*. It places Aboriginal people's income far below that of the Canadian population: 13% of Aboriginal people, aged 15 years and older reported no income during 1990, compared with 9% of the total Canadian population. At the other end of the income scale, only 5% of the Aboriginal population reported income of $40,000 or more, compared with 15% of the total Canadian population (p. xxi).

The educational levels within the Aboriginal community are also lower than those of the general population. Statistics Canada (1993a) states that in the 1991 census 17% of Aboriginal people, aged 15-49 years reported no formal schooling, or less than a Grade 9 education, as their highest level of academic achievement.[4] This figure almost triples the 6% reported among the Canadian population (p. xi). One third of the Aboriginals in the 15-49 years age category have some form of postsecondary education -- including university degrees. Again, this is lower than the 51% of the Canadian population who have some form of postsecondary education (Statistics Canada, 1993a, p. xi).

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[2] This is an inaccurate enumeration as there was a widespread boycott of the 1991 Census by Treaty Indians throughout Canada.

[3] Sloan and Hill report the Canada's Aboriginal population as Status Indian 553,000 (46%) with On Reserve as 326,000 (27%) and Off Reserve as 227,000 (19%); Non-Status Indians 405,000 (34%); Metis 192,000 (16%); and Inuit 41,000 (4%).

[4] This number may be inaccurate due to the large number of Aboriginal people excluded from the 1991 census because of a boycott.

Statistics Canada also highlights the employment situation of Aboriginal people. The employment rate for Aboriginal adults, those 15 years of age and older, was below that of the Canadian population at the time of the 1991 census. Results show that 43% of Aboriginal adults were employed the week before the 1991 census (June 4, 1991). The Canadian population showed an employment rate of 61%.

Aboriginal adults have the highest unemployment rate of any defined group in Canada. The Aboriginal group's unemployment rate is almost 25%, whereas the Canadian population's unemployment rate is 10%. A comparison between Aboriginals and the Canadian population shows that 18% fewer Aboriginals were employed and 15% more Aboriginals were unemployed (Statistics Canada, 1993a).

1.2 Aboriginal Employment Experience in Canada

Barriers faced by Aboriginals when applying for jobs and while participating in the workforce are numerous and unique. Their position at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy underscores the need for initiatives to improve their position in Canadian society. According to Mason (1993), Aboriginals scored lowest on all economic and social indicators such as health, well-being, and quality of life. They also scored lower on all job statistics, being the lowest paid, and were over represented in menial jobs. They are usually the last to be hired and the first to be laid off.

Many reasons can be given to explain the limited Aboriginal experience in the Canadian labour market. The reasons given depend on one's perspective. Some employers cite the lack of suitable job-related experience or formal training for not hiring Aboriginal people. Some Aboriginals believe they are victims of employment barriers and institutionalized discrimination in the Canadian labour market. Jain (1981) stated that although discrimination is not confined to one group, Native people are the most disadvantaged in Canadian society. Jain further found that job barriers facing Aboriginals included artificial educational requirements, arbitrary test scores, occupational licensing, and other restrictive entry requirements. The existence of barriers to Aboriginal employment is found in the work of Mason (1993), who reported arbitrary eligibility and accessibility criteria set by employers. The Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association (1991) also mentioned artificially inflated educational requirements that exclude Aboriginal people from employment.

Although off-reserve Aboriginals (65%) participate in the workforce at nearly the same rate as Canadians of other origins (67%), on-reserve Aboriginal people do not appear to have as much success in the labour market, as reflected by higher unemployment and lower rates of full-time/full-year work (National Citizens Directorate, 1991). According to the National Citizen's Directorate (1991), Aboriginal people living off-reserve earned less than non-Aboriginals. Half of the Aboriginal families living off-reserve made less than $25,000 compared with 31% of non-Aboriginal families.

Enduring negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people and their supposed poor work habits contributed to their continued exclusion from employment opportunities. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1991) states:

> Aboriginal people who find steady employment and social acceptance in the city blend into the increasingly multicultural city scene, while those who encounter difficulties retain high visibility and reinforce the stereotype

of Aboriginal people as poor, marginal and problem-ridden (p. 3).

DePass, English, Kwan, Novlan and Sonpal-Valais (1991) found that systemic discrimination has had a negative impact on Aboriginal people, causing them to have higher rates of elimination from job competitions and more refusals in job interviews.

High unemployment rates among Aboriginal people caused Aboriginal political organizations like the Indian Association of Alberta[5] and the Metis Association of Alberta[6] to push for *special employment programs* for Aboriginal people in Alberta a decade before the Federal legislation (Employment Equity Act) was enacted. Political pressure and lobbying were required to obtain employment programs for Aboriginal employees in Alberta's booming resource industry in the early 1970s.

Racial discrimination against Aboriginals was found to be a major barrier to employment, according to Lampe's (1974) study of Native employment. He found that employers' negative attitudes about Aboriginals and stereotypes that portray Aboriginals as unreliable workers hampered an Aboriginal person's ability to find employment. As one employer stated, *they do not turn up for work when they are supposed to and they quit without notice* (Lampe, p. 6). Those in a position to hire Aboriginal employees were often prejudiced by their own views of Aboriginal people as shiftless, irresponsible and lacking drive (Lampe, 1974; Jain, 1981). These stereotypes damage Aboriginal people's ability to gain employment by stigmatizing them, thus contributing to their further marginalization in Canadian society.

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[5] The Indian Association of Alberta signed an agreement with Syncrude Canada in 1976 to implement a Native Employment Program in the development of the Tar Sands Project in Fort McMurray, Alberta. This agreement was intended to ensure employment opportunities for local Aboriginals during the construction phase of the Tar Sands plant.

[6] The Metis Association of Alberta commissioned a study of the impact of mega-projects on Native people in Alberta in 1982. This study finds little evidence of a coordinated effort to ensure that opportunities presented by the mega-projects are made available to Aboriginals.

Some negative attitudes about Aboriginal employees have not changed in the 20 years since Lampe conducted his research. Robert Laboucane, Executive Director of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business[7] finds there is *still much ignorance in the corporate world when it comes to Aboriginal people* (Personal Interview, July 30, 1995). Laboucane finds that many old stereotypes and misconceptions are still prevalent. Aboriginal employees feel they are placed under great scrutiny by supervisors and fellow workers when it comes to punctuality, appearance, and quality of work (Personal Interview, July 30, 1995). Laboucane also noted that Aboriginal employees are sometimes excluded from workplace activities, such as lunch dates with co-workers, which make them feel isolated.[8]

A submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996a) states that Aboriginal employees experience racism and cultural alienation in the work environment. One individual wrote:

> How was I supposed to deal with a manager and a system that continually sought to treat me like a child? I have both a Bachelor and a Masters degree, and their tactics included requests that I submit all of my calculations for verification by my supervisor, ostensibly because they could not be sure that

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[7] The Canadian Council on Aboriginal Business is a national Aboriginal organization that brings Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal business people together for mutually beneficial partnerships.

[8] Robert Laboucane related an incident where employees would meet at a lounge for a drink after work on Friday. The Aboriginal employee in their department was not invited to attend because the other workers thought he might *go Indian* and embarrass them. Needless to say, the Aboriginal employee, a family man and a university graduate, did not feel very good about the situation.

> my totals were correct. No other person among my forty-three co-workers were required to do this. They told me that my work was being checked because I grew up on a reserve where nobody learned to add properly (p. 937).

Aboriginal people believe that discrimination is one of the many employment barriers they face in the Canadian labour market. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples identified employment barriers by examining data from the 1991 Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Survey (Table 1.1). The reasons for unemployment differ to some extent depending on whether individuals live on or off reserves.

Table 1.1. Employment Barriers Reported by Aboriginal People looking for Work, 1991

	Aboriginal Group			
	On Reserve Indians	**Off Reserve Indians**	**Metis**	**Inuit**
Employment Barrier*	%	%	%	%
Few or no Jobs	75.2	61.4	62.4	71.1
Mismatched Educ./Work Experience	40.1	40.1	42.6	38.0
Lack of Job Information	32.3	25.0	22.4	23.4
Being Aboriginal (discrimination)	22.2	25.5	11.7	11.9
Lack of Child Care	8.1	8.5	8.4	9.3
Other Barriers	7.3	12.6	8.7	8.5

Source: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996b, p. 933.
* Percentages based on multiple responses, so do not total 100%.

Some barriers are overt, such as an employer not hiring an Aboriginal person based on prejudices, or covert as in systemic discrimination. Systemic discrimination is defined by the Abella Commission (1984) as:

> A general employment condition, specific practise or approach to hiring or promotion that applies equally to everyone at a workplace but that negatively affects employment opportunity or advancement opportunity or advancement

for specific groups of people (p. 341).

The indirect nature of systemic discrimination can be manifested in an employer's employment practices. For example, they do not hire local Aboriginal people for a project because hiring occurs in a distant head office. Because of this practice, local Aboriginal people do not have the opportunity to apply. Whether intended or not, many Aboriginal people have had limited labour force involvement because of employment practices.

Although Aboriginal people's employment practices were given favourable reports some 30 years ago in the *Hawthorn Report* (1967), it appears that there are still problems finding employment. For example, Wannell's (1994) study of postsecondary graduates from the four designated groups found that Aboriginal college graduates' unemployment rate was almost 10% higher than other community college graduates.

1.3 Recent Changes in the Aboriginal Community

Changes within the Aboriginal community, such as increased education levels and migration to urban centres, have made its people more suitable and available for employment in mainstream society. However, one must ask whether preparation and availability to work will cause employers to accept Aboriginals as employees, or whether the employment barriers will endure.

Major changes began in the Aboriginal community in the 1960s. Since then, Aboriginal people have become increasingly vocal, politicized, urbanized, and educated. Increased calls for self-government by Aboriginal people and a *devolution policy* implemented by the Department of Indian Affairs have increased Aboriginal control over their everyday lives.

The relationship between Aboriginal people and mainstream society is also changing. One factor that will greatly alter the relationship between First Nations people and the rest of Canada is land authority. First Nations people are presently negotiating outstanding land claims with the federal government. If these land claims succeed, it is estimated that Aboriginal people will control up to 30% of the Canadian land mass by the end of the century (Sloan and Hill, 1995).

This land authority changes the balance of power between the local Aboriginal people and the resource companies hoping to extract raw materials from the land. Aboriginal people could become more actively involved in resource contract negotiations. They could also demand and receive the benefits from resource extraction projects on their land. Robert Laboucane of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business states that this is perhaps the only reason resource-based corporations are willing to deal with Aboriginal people (Personal Interview, June 30, 1995).

Aboriginal people want and expect jobs with resource companies operating on their land. They are prepared to be forceful in their demands for inclusion. This was evident in an incident with the Janvier First Nation in northeastern Alberta. In February 1996, band members blocked the road to their reserve to protest against resource companies. Janvier First Nations' Economic Development Officer, Archie Janvier, told of the resentment and discontent felt by local people toward the resource companies (Telephone Interview, February 6, 1996).

There were many areas of contention. The resource company hired few local Aboriginals. They offered local recruits only sporadic and short-term employment doing menial jobs. Janvier stated they treated band members differently than *imported workers*[9] and paid local Aboriginals a lower hourly rate than people brought in from the outside. Imported workers earned up to $22.00 per hour, whereas local workers made between $8.00 and $10.00. Local people had to provide their own transportation to the work site, which is a hardship as there were few vehicles in the community, and were expected to bring their own lunches. The resource companies provided both transportation and lunches for imported workers. These actions caused a series of meetings between the Janvier First Nation members and resource companies' management.

Another change in the Aboriginal community is the steady migration of Aboriginal people from rural areas[10] to urban centres since the 1960s (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1991). Approximately 2% of First Nations citizens lived off reserve in 1950. This increased to 13% in 1960 and by 1991 approximately 50% of all First Nations people lived off reserve (Comeau and Santin, 1995). Aboriginal people are moving to cities to attend school and find jobs. Statistics Canada (1993) shows those Aboriginal people who live on reserves and settlements have lower incomes and higher unemployment rates than Aboriginal people who live in urban areas. In addition, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of Aboriginal people enrolling in postsecondary education programs. The Department of Indian Affairs (1997) states that the number of Status Indians and Inuit receiving financial assistance[11] for postsecondary education has increased from 3,599 in 1977 to 26,305 in 1995. These totals do not include Metis or Non-Status Indian students.

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[9] Imported workers refers to employees who are not from the region.

[10] Rural areas refers to Indian Reserves, Metis Settlements or other small towns.

Aboriginal students are now enrolling in and graduating from a variety of disciplines. The University of Alberta has an Aboriginal Admission Policy that aspires to increase Aboriginal student enrollments to 1,200, or 5% of the University of Alberta student population (1995a, p. 19). In 1995 the University of Alberta had approximately 50 Aboriginal students graduate from Arts, Education, Dentistry, Agriculture and Forestry, Native Studies, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Nursing, and Graduate Studies.[12] The diversity of study is beneficial to the Aboriginal community and a departure from earlier enrollment that showed a heavy concentration in the Social Work and Education faculties. According to a representative of Native Student Services at the University of Alberta, there were 625 (582 undergraduate and 43 graduate) Aboriginal students enrolled in Fall 1996 (Telephone Interview, July 10, 1997).

The rural Aboriginal communities are not benefiting as much as they might from their people who obtain postsecondary credentials, because many of them do not return to their communities. While rebuilding, Aboriginal communities could use the expertise of their postsecondary graduates, but the communities lack the opportunities, resources, and amenities to lure them back. Many postsecondary students have studied for extended periods in cities and have become accustomed to urban life. In addition, many Aboriginal people are now born and raised in urban centres and do not have strong familial ties to the rural area.

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[11] Treaty Indians and Inuit are the only members of the four designated groups who receive financial assistance for postsecondary education. Other Aboriginal groups, the Metis and Non-Status Indians, do not receive government assistance for postsecondary education.

[12] Personal conversation with an academic counsellor at Native Student Services University of Alberta, January 22, 1996.

A factor that could greatly change relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is the tremendous population increase in the Aboriginal community. It is estimated that the First Nations population will double in the 25 year period from 1991 to 2016 (Sloan and Hill, 1995). Research conducted on the demographics of the Alberta Aboriginal population found that approximately 50% of the Aboriginal population[13] was under the age of 20 years (Voyageur, 1995).[14] This has many implications for Canadian society. For example, Aboriginal people will become a larger proportion of the labour market and have the potential to move into new areas of employment. Unless these people can be successfully integrated into the workforce there could be major economic, political and societal problems.

Aboriginal people will also be a larger portion of the consumer public and a viable target market. This may cause advertising and marketing promotions to be directed specifically at Aboriginal people.[15] This change may be similar to that experienced recently where more women and minorities are shown in active roles in television commercials and newspaper advertising.

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[13] Aboriginal population means off-reserve Indians, Metis, Non-Status Indians and Inuit. On-reserve Indians are *not* included in this definition.

[14] Although this figure speaks specifically to the Alberta population I think that this number is fairly representative of the Aboriginal population. This shows that the Aboriginal population is relatively young compared with the general population, which has only 23% of its population in this age category.

[15] In recent years, Aboriginal newspapers have shown a marked increase in advertising directed specifically at Aboriginals. Many of Canada's major banks are purchasing space.

As population increases, larger numbers of Aboriginal people living in urban areas and better educated members of the Aboriginal community will become a larger part of the labour pool. Learning how Aboriginal workers can be successfully integrated into the labour market in greater numbers is important. It is also important to learn how Aboriginal employees can be used efficiently as workforce participants. Aboriginal people are currently being trained to play a greater role in the labour market, but the results of this training remain to be seen. A detailed analysis of Employment Equity reports and a comparative study of Aboriginal employment programs will help determine the extent to which Employment Equity is helping Aboriginal people obtain jobs and progress through company ranks.

1.4 Purpose of the Study and Statement of the Problem

My research endeavours to locate the Aboriginal employees in the Canadian labour force. One way to achieve this is through analyzing Aboriginal peoples' workforce participation under the Employment Equity Act. An analysis of change over time can be conducted using annual Employment Equity reports published by Human Resources Development Canada.

I examine if, and to what extent, Aboriginal people have benefited from the federal government's Employment Equity legislation. I will answer the question, *Have Aboriginal people benefited under this legislation which aims to improve the employment prospects of historically disadvantaged groups*?

My aim is to advance the body of knowledge and understanding about the socioeconomic and employment situation of Aboriginal people in Canada. The fact that

Aboriginal people are among the poorest and least educated has been the subject of many academic and government studies. These primarily descriptive studies have documented the low socioeconomic status of Aboriginal people and have resulted in training and occupational programs with varying outcomes. Abele (1989), in her study of Native employment programs in the Northwest Territories, stated that effective programs must meet the needs of the participants and that individuals must determine their own needs. Too often *experts* come into the Aboriginal community to assess needs. As an Aboriginal person I can play an important research role as an insider [16] in the Aboriginal community.

My project identifies successful and unsuccessful employment initiatives taken by case study organizations. Interpretations are offered about why specific programs, but not others, are more beneficial to Aboriginal people. This study is of scholarly and practical importance because the federal Employment Equity Act has been in existence in Canada since 1986, and to date no comprehensive analysis has been conducted to assess the effectiveness of the legislation for Aboriginal people. My research can help fill that gap. Until now, most of the research has focused on women (non-Aboriginal, nondisabled and nonvisible minority) because they are the largest constituency. However, the legislation's impact on Aboriginal people is as important because Aboriginals occupy the lowest socioeconomic position in Canadian society and potentially have the most to gain.

This study makes a valuable contribution to the body of employment equity, labour market segmentation, stratification, and inequality literature, and more specifically to the identification of labour market and organizational barriers to Native employment. This study should be of particular interest to those involved in Aboriginal employment, economic development, and First Nations economies.

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[16] I refer to *insider* as a person who is a part of the community and is aware of customs and nuances within the culture.

Much of the literature on Aboriginal employment is dated. Little recent research has been conducted on the changing employment situations of Aboriginal people. There has been a great increase in the number of Aboriginal people entering and completing postsecondary studies and gaining the credentials, the lack of which once kept them from finding *good jobs*. Will this change be reflected in the types of jobs these people can obtain? In addition, Aboriginal postsecondary graduates will be seeking employment, and this can give them insights into what potential employers have to offer them in employment initiatives.

Aboriginals who sometimes suffer discrimination from the public may welcome current information about the degree and type of contributions made by Aboriginal people to Canadian society who view them as *taking from the system but not giving anything back*. This research has the potential to shatter some to the prevailing stereotypes about Aboriginal people.

The recognition of Aboriginal people in a variety of industrial sectors can serve as a catalyst for future Aboriginal postsecondary students to attempt studies in more diverse disciplines. In the past, Aboriginal postsecondary students have concentrated in education and social work fields.

This study has three parts. The first part is an analysis of Employment Equity data that shows the change in Aboriginal representation in the Employment Equity Workforce from the legislation that was enacted in 1986. The second part involves case studies of a diverse group of employers from a variety of industrial sectors: resource-based, telecommunications, finance, and education.[17] An analysis of employment equity initiatives undertaken in the case studies can be significant to other employers who must maintain required levels of employees from the designated groups. Attracting and retaining Native employees is important to employers because the Native community is the fastest growing segment of Canadian society and will represent a larger portion of the employee pool in the future. The third part presents an Aboriginal employee profile that highlights the characteristics and experiences of Aboriginal employees working in the case study organizations.

1.5 Research Questions

My research findings determine whether the federal Employment Equity legislation has benefitted Aboriginal people through increased representation and more varied distribution in the employment equity workforce. However, if the data show that Aboriginal people have not benefitted from the federal Employment Equity Program, I want to examine the barriers responsible for their failure to advance. I also want to explore the factors involved in the success or unsuccessful implementation of Employment Equity or Aboriginal

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[17] Some resource-based companies are federally regulated (e.g., Cameco-Canadian Mining and Energy Corporation, Cogema Resources Ltd., Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting). However, the resource-based organization in this study, Syncrude Canada Ltd. is not federally regulated. Both telecommunications and banking are federally regulated and fall under the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) covered by the Employment Equity Act. Because education is under provincial jurisdiction, it is not federally regulated. However, if an educational institution receives a single contract worth $200,000 or more in one year, it is included under the Federal Contractors Program (FCP).

Employment Programs within the case study organizations. Additionally, I want to examine the experiences of Aboriginal people employed in the case study organizations.

The questions addressed in this study include:

1. Based on the data from the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports, is the Employment Equity Act a beneficial policy with regard to Aboriginal people? If so, how? Should it continue? If so, what improvements should be made to make it more effective and efficient?

2. Which employment practices effectively increase Aboriginal representation in the case study organizations? Which policies and practices create barriers to increased Aboriginal representation?

3. Do Aboriginal employees believe their ancestry is a factor in their workplace experiences? If so, how?

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

1.6.1 Part One: Employment Equity Annual Reports Data Analysis

This study is in three parts. The first is a quantitative analysis of change over time for federal Employment Equity data from the Employment Equity Annual Reports to Parliament from 1987 to 1995 published by Human Resources Development Canada. Babbie (1991) said that secondary analysis allows the researcher to pursue particular research interests without the enormous expenditure of time and money that a survey entails. This type of analysis allows me to describe the employment positions of Aboriginal employees within the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) organizations and to determine whether the situation has changed over time. This allows me to answer my research questions on the effectiveness of the Employment Equity Act.

I used secondary analysis of existing data to draw aggregate trends from the approximately 370 federally regulated employers and crown corporations covered under the

Legislated Employment Equity Program. The data were collected each year and contain information on representation, hiring, promotions, and terminations of company employees. Data are categorized by gender and by the designated groups. The nature and consistency of the data suit my research purposes well, as I can gauge increases and decreases in the Aboriginal employees' representation from year to year.

The results of data compilations are presented in tables and accompanied by descriptive explanations. Comparative analyses are conducted between Aboriginal employees and other members of the designated groups to learn whether Aboriginal people have advanced at the same rate as the others.

1.6.2 Part Two: Case Studies

The second part involves case studies. Merriam (1985) conducted a literature review on the case study research methodology and found it *allowed for a level of understanding and explanations not possible through conventional experimental or survey designs* (p. 204). This is supported in the work of Bogdan and Biklen (1982), who describe case study as *a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject depository of documents, or one particular event* (p. 58). I used the case study approach to gather comprehensive data on each of four organizations because it allowed me to answer the specific questions about Aboriginal employment equity programs. For example, I can ask *What could be learned about employment equity policies from each case*? I wished to determine whether there were specific organizational structures, cultures, human resource policies, or procedures that either fostered or hindered the implementation or execution of employment equity initiatives within each company.

Each case study includes information about the organization itself (its structure and corporate profile) and the specifics of its employment equity or Aboriginal employment program (policies, initiatives, successes, and failures). I can explore the question, *Are there initiatives designed to enhance Aboriginal or Employment Equity programs that inadvertently create barriers*?

1.6.3 Part Three: Employee Profiles

The third part is a qualitative analysis of the Aboriginal employees working in the case study organizations. The organizations fall outside the Employment Equity Act (Syncrude Canada), or are members under the Legislated Employment Equity Program[18] (Telus Corporation and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce) or Federal Contractors Program[19] (University of Alberta).

Case study organizations represent a variety of industrial sectors: resource extraction, education, finance, and telecommunications. Organizations were selected after I solicited suggestions from individuals and organizations involved in Employment Equity issues. One such organization was the Edmonton Network of Employment Equity Practitioners, a group of approximately 30 local organizations who meet monthly to share information and discuss employment equity.

I conducted interviews (the interview schedule is in Appendix A) with 40 individuals employed (or who had been employed) by the case study organizations. The interviews focused on the employees' experiences within the organizations. My research required the approval of a University of Alberta Research Ethics Committee because it involved human subjects. There was concern that the interviewees might encounter problems with co-workers given the sensitive nature of my research. I assured the interviewees anonymity and have removed all personal reference to them in the study. I refer to them in the text by an assigned number. The identity of the interviewees is known only to me.

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[18] Companies falling under federal regulation with more than 100 employees are included in the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP).

[19] Organizations that are not federally regulated (under provincial regulation) and who receive a single contract worth $200,000 or more annually and have over 100 employees are included under the Federal Contractors Program (FCP).

It was not my purpose to produce a random sample, but to gather information and insights into the patterns emerging from the qualitative data. Using a snowball sampling technique, I sought out Aboriginal employees to participate in this study. Forty interviews were conducted with 10 respondents from each organization. I interviewed Aboriginal employees at various levels of the company hierarchy in order to understand their experience within the company. I wanted to hear about the professional, personal, and social aspects of being an Aboriginal employee in that company.

Comments given by the respondents provided a wealth of insights into the Aboriginal employees' workplace and the workplace experience. Comments are woven into the analysis to support statements made about the data. Many respondents had similar experiences and this is presented in a series of quotations from various people to establish a point of view and to show the commonality of experiences.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The case studies are limited to those industries chosen. Other industrial sectors may have innovative programs but have been excluded from the study. Also, this study is limited to those employers who agreed to participate in this research. In this regard, the sample can be viewed as self-selecting. These organizations have been active participants in the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) or the Federal Contractors Program (FCP) and are proud of their record. Because these are case studies, these findings speak specifically to the organizations involved in this research. The findings cannot be generalized to other organizations not involved in this study as they may have different circumstances, initiatives and policies, but this exercise helps illuminate barriers and effective strategies of a company's Employment Equity programs.

The employee participants (excluding management) in this study are limited to those people who identify themselves as Aboriginal. Some Aboriginal people chose not to self-identify as Aboriginal because they feel that doing so could stigmatize them in the workplace. These people were not pursued. In additional, some Aboriginal people did not feel they needed special programs to aid them in the workplace and that they can succeed independently. For these reasons, under reporting of the number of Aboriginal people working in the industries occurred. This situation may also affect those companies involved in phase 1 of the research. Perhaps more Aboriginal people are working within the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) companies than are *officially* recognized because they (the Aboriginal employees) refuse to declare their Aboriginal status.

The key informants interviewed were chosen because of their knowledge about, or direct involvement with, the program or because they occupied positions of responsibility for Aboriginal employment policies and practices. This cannot be considered a representative sample; however, it gives a rich description of employment equity practices from those who have experienced the successes and frustrations of this policy.

Case studies allow those under review to tell their own story (Carter, 1993). Stake (1994) said that a case study sets the stage for comparison with other cases. However, as a researcher I must interpret the findings in light of my research questions. Researchers concentrate on describing cases in sufficient detail so that the reader can made good comparisons between the cases.

1.8 Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter 1 I provide an overview of the study, including background information on the socioeconomic situation of Aboriginal people in Canada, the employment experiences of Aboriginal people in Canada, and recent changes in the Aboriginal community that could cause changes in the future. I also outline the purpose of the inquiry and general research questions, the theoretical and practical significance of the study, the research design, and methodology.

Chapter 2 is a literature review on many facets of Aboriginal employment including: barriers to Aboriginal employment; workplace discrimination; and employment equity and Aboriginal employment. The literature explains the Aboriginal employment experience.

Chapter 3 contains a review of literature on human capital theory, the segmented labour market theory, and organizational theory and establishes the theoretical framework used to examine the Aboriginal employment experience in Canada.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodologies used to collect and analyze the data. This includes the research design, research questions and related research strategies, selection and sampling, assumptions, ethical considerations, and limitations.

Chapter 5 details the research findings and analysis of the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports concerning the designated groups, but focusing most specifically on Aboriginal employees of the approximately 370 employers under the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP). This chapter addresses whether Aboriginal employees have advanced in their representation and occupational levels in the LEEP organizations.

Chapter 6 presents the research findings and analysis of the case study comparisons. The organizations' employment equity initiatives are discussed and assessed.

Chapter 7 details the profiles and experiences of 40 Aboriginal employees working in the case study organizations. Information from the interviews provided the data that are analyzed and reported in this chapter.

Chapter 8 includes discussion and conclusions drawn from the study. Assessments of the research materials are made in terms of the original research questions and notes new theoretical and policy implications. Suggestions on new research directions are also made.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature on employment conditions and employee-employer relations in Canada and the United States is substantial and diverse. However, the literature on Aboriginal employment is scant. This summary of Aboriginal employment in Canada begins with an historical overview and continues with some causal explanations. There is also a selected overview of workplace discrimination and how it has affected Aboriginal employment. This is followed by a synopsis of Employment Equity literature.

2.1 Aboriginal Employment

The socioeconomic position of Aboriginal people in Canada has been the subject of many academic and government studies (Hawthorn, 1967; Stymeist, 1975; Ponting and Gibbons, 1980; and Ponting, 1987; Armstrong, Kennedy, and Oberle, 1990; Peters and Rosenberg, 1992; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a, and 1996b). The primarily descriptive reports have documented the dismal social and economic situation of Aboriginal people and have resulted in some improvement in Aboriginal people's economic situation by initiating training and employment programs.

Much of the literature on Aboriginal employment is dated and seems irrelevant given the recent changes in the Aboriginal community. In the 1970s and the early 1980s, many publications spoke of the high unemployment rate among Aboriginal people (Slavik, 1979; Hobart, 1982; Kleinfeld and Kruse, 1982; Grant, 1983; Hanson, 1985). All confirmed the high unemployment rate and explained why Aboriginal people are unsuitable for employment in mainstream society. However, they did not speak to the elements of the workplace that sometimes make it an impenetrable domain for the Aboriginal job-seekers.

Early reports of Aboriginal employment focused on characteristics of the Aboriginal worker and not on the characteristics of the workplace. Negative stereotypes labelled Aboriginal people as unreliable and largely unskilled workers. One of the first reports to shift the analysis away from the negative characteristics of the individual and look at his or her positive attributes was that of Walter Lampe in 1974. Lampe analyzed data extrapolated from the 1970-1971 Yukon Manpower Survey and interviewed 89 of 118 Indian men working at an unnamed mine in 1973. He also looked at aspects of the workplace that made employment difficult for the Aboriginal employee. He examined factors that made Aboriginal people accept and retain their jobs. He found job-related incentives such as wage bonuses, job security, and employment close to home as important to Aboriginal employees. The Aboriginal employees' views and concerns were no different than those expressed by non-Aboriginal employees. The Aboriginal employees stated that the support of peers, fellow workers, and supervisors was important.

Lampe (1974) reported that jobs held by Aboriginal workers tended to be unskilled or make-work projects. Further, these jobs required little training and, as a result, the employer could easily replace employees. Little job security and low wages often defined these jobs. The distance between job sites and home was often large, particularly in the northern regions. Longer-term employment on remote job sites also entailed costly visits home or extended periods of separation from family because family housing was not available near the job site. Based on his analysis of employers' attitudes and hiring practices, Lampe concluded that Indians were held responsible for their own unemployment situation because of their incompatible or indifferent work habits and their lack of work-related skills.

Knight's (1978) study of Aboriginal involvement in the British Columbia labour market found that they were active and played diverse roles until recently. He said that Aboriginal people were more fully involved in the labour force 50 years ago than they are today. He named three features of Aboriginal labour force involvement. First, Aboriginal people almost everywhere have been involved in a variety of wage labour and commodity production conjoined with domestic new and traditional subsistence economies. Second, distinctive social and cultural practices were retained along with wage labour. Traditional values did not exclude Aboriginals from the labour market. Third, Aboriginal unemployment and reserve dependence is a relatively new phenomenon. Knight states that Aboriginal people were incorrectly portrayed as extraneous to the economic history of Canada.

Government reports suggested ways to increase Aboriginal participation in the workforce (Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program, 1981; Clatworthy, 1981, 1982a). Progress reports of work programs dominate this literature. Again, they mostly described the characteristics of workers and explained components of the programs.

Some consultants' reports written in the late 1970s and the early 1980s were purely descriptive in their assessment of Aboriginal employment programs. They concentrated primarily on the companies' efforts to recruit potential Aboriginal employees and on the companies' attempts to accommodate existing Aboriginal employees. These reports portray the companies in a favourable light by showing their attempts to employ Aboriginals being frustrated by a variety of characteristics possessed by Aboriginal employees such as unreliability characterized by spotty attendance records and their inability to *adjust* to the workplace (Slavik, 1979; Hobart, Walsh and Associates, 1979; Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program, 1981; Hobart, 1982; and Syncrude Canada, 1990).

One of the few consultants' reports to take a critical view[1] of the resource mega-project phenomenon, and how Aboriginals *fit or do not fit* into the plan was commissioned by the Metis Association of Alberta and conducted by Woods Gordon in 1982. This report found that Native employees and Native businesses were actively seeking the same employment opportunities mentioned by Lampe a decade earlier.

Low educational achievement levels among Aboriginals were often cited as impediments to employment (Clatworthy, 1981 and 1982a). However, Woods Gordon (1982) reported that Aboriginal employees viewed the educational requirements as a screening device by employers because they did not need high skill levels for the jobs they were hired to do. The report also stated that a lack of agreement between federal and provincial governments hampered Native employment programming.

A report on Aboriginal integration into the Fort McMurray labour force conducted by the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program (1981) found that Aboriginal people were unable to integrate into the workforce successfully due to their lack of confidence, poor work history, and language barriers. The study stated that Aboriginal people could be more successfully integrated if companies were more flexible with their regulations regarding employability and if Aboriginal people could access the informal networks that provided the information required to apply for work.

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[1] I suspect this report was critical because it was commissioned by an Aboriginal organization and not by a resource company or a government agency.

The Final Report on the Working Group on Native Education, Training and Employment found that government and private sector employment training programs for Aboriginal people were poorly organized and did not meet the needs of either the Aboriginal community or the industrial sector. It also found that the recruitment of Aboriginal people was hampered by poor lines of communication between the Aboriginal community and government. Communication between the parties was important because governments were moving ahead with resource development plans for resource extraction projects and the Aboriginal people wanted employment with those companies. The working groups recommended changes with respect to education, training and employment to increase the success of Aboriginal people in the workforce.

DePass et al. (1991) addressed the employment opportunities of visible minorities, Aboriginals, and the disabled employed with major corporations in Calgary. They found that 77% of visible minority males and 10% of visible minority females worked in the professional occupation category as defined by the Employment Equity Act (Appendix B for description). Managerial positions were held by 4.5% of visible minority males and 10% of visible minority females. Most visible minority females (45%) were clerical workers. Only two disabled people were interviewed for this study (both Euro-Canadian males) and were employed in the semiprofessional and technical field and in sales.

Aboriginal females were employed primarily in clerical positions (57%) with some (14%) in supervisory positions and an additional 14% in middle management (DePass et al., 1991). Aboriginal males were employed in technical and semi-professional fields. As for income, they found that Aboriginal females were paid less than Aboriginal males although they had higher levels of educational achievement. The Aboriginal participants had varying views on their employment experiences and prospects with Aboriginal females being less satisfied with their jobs than Aboriginal males.

Peters and Rosenberg (1992) examined Aboriginal participation in the labour force and factors that determine various levels and types of participation in Canada for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. They found that individual characteristics such as age, gender, family status, highest level of formal education, and job-related experience determined a person's participation in the labour force. However, they stated that availability and obtainability of suitable employment was also a crucial factor.

Some publications deal with case studies of Native employment programs within corporations. The three most notable are Sloan and Hill's (1995), *Corporate Aboriginal Relations: Best Practice Case Studies*, Aboriginal Employment Equity Consultation Group's[2] (1992) *Aboriginal Employment and Community Relations*, and Grant's *(1983) Concrete Reserve*. These books describe case study analyses on a selection of corporations that have Native employment programs. They review evaluate programs and decide which are most effective and why.

Sloan and Hill (1995) highlighted the practices of 38 companies in Canada that have

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[2] The Aboriginal Employment Equity Consultation Group were representatives of nine federal government departments: External Affairs and International Trade, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Revenue Canada, Employment and Immigration, Secretary of State, Public Service Commission, Veterans Affairs, Indian and Northern Affairs, and Health and Welfare.

active Aboriginal relations programs designed to build constructive partnerships with communities and expand employment and business opportunities for Aboriginal people (p. ix). They invited *leading* companies[3] to share their experiences. These companies were chosen on the basis of their *leadership. commitment and expertise in different areas of Aboriginal relations* (p. xii). The criteria cited for inclusion in this were mutual employer-employee benefits. This meant employment and training for Aboriginals and ongoing human resource development for companies.

They began their book by explaining why corporate Canada must rethink its relationship with Aboriginal people. They said that the Aboriginal population in Canada is expected to double between 1993 and 2016 that this will have a significant impact on the demographic structure of Canadian society. They also stated that corporate Canada *has come courting* in Aboriginal communities because of the changing power base with the community. Power is moving from the government to the community. Most notably, they mentioned the increase in political power by calls for self government and the vast tracts of land currently involved in land claims negotiations. It is estimated that up to 30% of Canada's land mass could be under Aboriginal rule by the end of the century.

The companies included in Sloan and Hill's (1995) case studies are categorized into five types: building the commitment, education and training, employment opportunities, business development, and community relations. The section on building the commitment shows the steps taken by seven companies who have implemented effective Aboriginal relations strategies. The section on education and training shows the approaches taken by 12 companies to provide access to education and training opportunities for Aboriginals (1995:xiii). The section on employment opportunities shows the approaches used by nine companies to enhance the employment situation of Aboriginals. The section on business development shows five companies' experiences while *opening up contracting opportunities for Aboriginal business and communities* (p. xiii). The community relations section shows the approaches used by five companies to *establish and sustain relationships with the Aboriginal community* (p. xiii).

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[3] The authors do not provide criteria to qualify companies as *leading* in Aboriginal employment equity initiatives.

This book reads like a public relations manual for the 38 companies.[4] The information is presented but not critically reviewed. For example, no questions are asked about the company's commitment to create a representative workforce or why there are so few Aboriginal employees in companies in areas with a high Aboriginal population. Many companies' plans are still in development so results are still unknown. Although this book was meant to showcase, rather than critique, the programs, it would have been valuable to determine whether the goals were realized and provide a checklist against which employers could assess their programs. Sloan and Hill (1995) did not survey the Aboriginal people working within those companies to obtain their views on the programs, which would have been a valuable addition to this study.

Aboriginal Employment Equity Consultation Group's (1992) *Aboriginal Employment and Community Relations*, highlighted eight organizations that the authors chose for their *achievement in embracing comprehensive human resource development strategies for Aboriginal people* (p. iv). This group was created to advise the Secretary of the Treasury Board on matters related to the employment of Aboriginal people in the federal Public Service (p. 1). The case studies were designed and conducted by Hill Sloan Associates (authors of the above-mentioned studies; in fact, six of the eight companies studied in this book are included in Sloan and Hill, 1995).

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[4] The book is written with an *uncritical* view to company policy or procedures. Although results are quantified, there are no comparative data against which to gauge improvements.

This report gives a detailed account of each company's approach to Aboriginal relations, human resource policies, and practices regarding Aboriginals, specific measures taken to enhance Aboriginal employment, community relations and business development, and the results of their efforts. Quantitative measures of Aboriginal workforce representation show that many had low numbers of Aboriginal employees, although some showed slight improvements. In addition, many companies showed Aboriginal people concentrated in trades, manual labour, and clerical positions, which are traditionally low-paying and low-status.

Grant's *(1983) Concrete Reserve*, identifies and examines corporate policies and employment programs aimed at Aboriginal people in six western Canadian companies. This review is similar to Sloan and Hill's, because it also highlights the components of each company's program. However, this review is different in that it looks at both the benefits and the deficiencies of existing programs. Like Sloan and Hill, Grant takes a uncritical view of company policy. She provides a 26 checklist for program assessment. These studies are analytically weak because they do not have a theoretical framework.

Wuttanee's (1992) book, *In Business for Ourselves*, takes a case study approach to reviewing 15 Aboriginal entrepreneurships in Canada's north. The book highlights a variety of business ventures (a gas bar and convenience store, a weekly newspaper, an airline, a car dealership, and others) that provide employment to local Aboriginals. Successful Aboriginal entrepreneurs speak of the hard work and good judgment required to run a business. This largely qualitative study begins by detailing some reasons why Aboriginal entrepreneurs were having difficulties bidding for and completing contracts in the early 1980s. They mentioned the lack of access to bidding information and lack of access to business. Employers repeatedly mentioned that good staff was valuable and had to be well treated. Aboriginal entrepreneurs had to compete for good staff with government or large businesses who could afford to pay more. Wuttanee showed that Native and local *bush values* were beneficial to business ventures. The book is important because it showed some successes in the Aboriginal community.

Howard (1995) wrote her master's thesis on the Native Employment Program at the Syncrude plant in Fort McMurray, Alberta. She found that upper management generally supported Aboriginal employees and the Native Employment Program but support from lower management and fellow non-Aboriginal workers was lacking. Howard wrote:

> I had been counselled by someone who had once worked at Syncrude at a managerial capacity to appreciate that it could be a kind of career-suicide for any supervisor to voice objections to the *law of support for Aboriginal employment*. I was told that by identifying a group of people as *special*, an untouchable aura surrounds them (p. 38).

The nonsupport by lower management and fellow non-Aboriginal workers led to an uncomfortable workplace atmosphere for Aboriginal employees. If Aboriginal people are successful in obtaining jobs, the corporate culture that marginalizes them quickly consumes them.

Early literature on Aboriginal employment (or unemployment) usually set the *blame* for the Aboriginal person's inability to obtain a stable, meaningful, and well-paying jobs squarely on the shoulders of the individual. Differences between *Aboriginal characteristics* and non-Aboriginal characteristics were highlighted. The underlying current of this literature was *if only Indians could be more like White people -- when they would find lots of work.* Over time, this view was modified to shift at least some *fault* for Aboriginals' employment problems to poor coordination and communication between the companies, the governments, and Aboriginal people. This shift was important because Aboriginal people wanted to shake off the stereotypes and be seen as ready, willing, and able to work (Wuttanee, 1992; Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association, 1991). However, many Aboriginal people still feel that artificial barriers are blocking their way to obtaining meaningful and stable employment.

2.2 Barriers to Native Employment

The lack of educational attainment and suitable jobs skills are cited by many reviews of Native employment as barriers to Aboriginal employment (Hawthorn, 1967; Lampe, 1974; Hobart, Walsh and Associates, 1979; Hobart, 1982; Slavik, 1979; Jain, 1981; Clatworthy, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Woods Gordon, 1982; Hull, 1984; Hanson, 1985; Hagey, Larocque, and McBride, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c; Oishi, 1985; Peters and Rosenberg, 1992; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a, and 1996b; Comeau and Santin, 1995). This argument was given as a justification for not employing Aboriginal people. Aboriginals were at fault for their inability to find employment because they had not invested in education and job skills.

In the early 1970s, Berg (1971) found little correlation between educational attainment and job performance. Collins (1979) found that workplace skills were learned on the job and not in the schools. Oishi (1985) maintained that education does not provide a technocratic function as much as a credentialing one. Although low educational attainment was, and continues to be, a reality in the Aboriginal community, low attainment should not overshadow Aboriginal people's potential to become valued employees if given the chance.

2.2.1 Low Educational Attainment

Aboriginals' low educational attainment is a result of many factors dating back over a century. Early governmental attempts to educate Indians[5] were haphazard at best. The Federal government developed an education portfolio for Status Indians in 1890 but did not create guidelines. The government had neither the expertise nor the professional staff to provide educational instruction for Indian people. As a result, the federal government contracted religious orders to provide instruction to the Indians (Chalmers, 1970:159).

The educational value of the instruction was limited, because the emphasis was on *christianizing* the Indians and not educating them. Daniels (1973) describes the situation as follows:

> Allied with this holy zeal was always some type of other basic elementary instruction, so that perhaps it could be said that Indian education was traditionally based upon the four Rs -- reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and religion. There had been a tendency to think of Indian students in terms of being provided with only these basics of education -- elementary and (rural) vocational -- until the 1950s (p. 77).

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[5] In this situation, the author is speaking specifically to Status Indians and not all the Aboriginal groups.

Indian students did not receive the fundamental education needed to pursue a post-secondary education. Instead church-run, industrial schools gave them vocational training to make them farmerhands and housekeepers by teaching them sewing, cooking, and animal husbandry.

Besides withholding academic preparation needed to attend postsecondary educational institutions, government gave the Indians an added disincentive to obtaining higher education. If an Indian gained a university degree or joined the military or the clergy, he or she was considered *civilized* and subsequently lost his or her Indian status. Although the benefits of Indian status were few, perhaps the most punitive consequence of this policy was that they were forbidden to live on the reserve with family. The enfranchised Indian was banished from the reserve and considered a non-Indian in the eyes of the government although his or her skin was still brown and he or she was still discriminated against. As Frideres (1985) rote, ***negative stereotypes and infrequent contacts with the dominant groups have contributed to their inferior status and marginal participation in the socioeconomic*** *system* (p. 123).

Because most reserves and settlements are in rural areas, attending secondary institutions meant leaving the family and home community. This could be a traumatic experience for a young person who probably had experienced limited contact outside the community. If a person attempted higher education, he or she was rarely steered away from the vocational track. As a result, Aboriginal people were concentrated in a variety of service-related and trades-related fields. This assertion is supported by Wannell's (1994) study of postsecondary graduates which shows that the highest enrollment for Aboriginal students in community colleges in 1990 was in Trade Certificate programs.

Until recently, few Aboriginal people participated in postsecondary education. Department of Indian Affairs' *Basic Departmental Data* (1996) showed that 60 students were enrolled in postsecondary institutions in 1960. Since then numbers have increased significantly. In 1994 the number had increased to more than 26,500 students (Telephone Interview with Indian Affairs Employee, February 26, 1996). Nevertheless, more Aboriginal people are gaining academic credentials, it appears that other barriers are preventing them from achieving access to the workplace.

2.2.2 Discrimination

The prejudice and discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people in Canada are rooted in history. This behaviour ranges from indifference toward Aboriginals to outright hostility and is often the result of lack of contact with Aboriginal people. Ponting's (1987) study of non-Aboriginal Canadians' attitudes toward Aboriginals found that the average Canadian did not consider Aboriginal issues important. Respondents chose *protecting the environment* and *reducing the national debt* as top priorities while Aboriginal issues trailed a distant third.[6] According to Ponting, although they did not deem Aboriginal issues important, Canadians tended to be more sympathetic than antagonistic toward Aboriginals. Those antagonistic towards Aboriginals stated that Aboriginals already received too much financial aid from the government. An Insight Canada (Edmonton Journal, 1997) survey found that 59% of Canadians believed that the federal government did not have adequate measures in place to ensure that funding to Aboriginal communities was managed responsibly. A 1996 poll commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs found that *almost half Canadians believed Aboriginals had equal or better standards of living than the average citizen. And, 40% believed natives had only themselves to blame for their problems* (p. A5). Further, a 1995 Angus Reid poll asked 1,503 respondents from across Canada to list Aboriginal people's most serious issues.[7] Land claims (39%), unemployment (16%), integration/adapting (16%), racism (15%), alcohol/substance abuse (15%), self-government (14%), education (12%), poverty (10%) and culture/traditions (8%) were cited as the most important issues facing Aboriginal people in Canada.

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[6] *improving rights for women* and *reaching a free trade deal with the United States* were all clustered at the bottom with Aboriginal issues.

The discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people is fuelled by many sources, one of which is the media. One of the first studies to look at the portrayal of Aboriginals in the media was Benjamin Singer's content analysis of Aboriginal-based stories in Canadian newspapers for a five-year period from 1971-1976 (Cooke, 1984). He found that stories predominantly showed Indians in two ways: in negotiation with the government over one issue or another; or in conflict with the government. In a more recent study, Voyageur (1993b) found support for Singer's conclusions when she found that the media covered conflict-based Aboriginal stories[8] in 70% of their coverage during the period under review.

Negative attitudes have not changed over time. In 1980, Pineo rated the social standing of 36 ethnic and racial groups. He found Canadian Indians ranked the lowest on the social ladder along with four other *non-Caucasian* groups. Cooke (1984), in her study of the image of Indians held by non-Indians, found that as a whole they see Indians as *different* and possessing many undesirable characteristics and values. She also noted that many sources reinforce the negative stereotype of Indians: newspapers, television, movies, and textbooks. Perhaps the most disturbing revelation was that they see Indians as irrelevant to Canadian society. Cooke's findings supported the work of Stymeist (1975) who studied the ethnic relations in a northern Ontario town. He found that the non-Aboriginals essentially excluded Aboriginal people from participation in social and economic town life, although Aboriginals were directly responsible for employment opportunities in the town through an Indian hospital located there. Aboriginal people in the town experienced overt racism and discrimination that prevented them from obtaining jobs. Townspeople acknowledged that Aboriginal people were discriminated against, but justified this by saying that Aboriginal people were *simply different* (1975:5). Dunk (1991), found that residents of another Ontario town were less charitable than those in Stymeist's study. In Dunk's study, residents discriminated openly against Aboriginals through jokes, banter and, gossip. They also held Aboriginals responsible for various crimes and acts of vandalism in the town. None of the accusations were verified.

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[7] Percentages based on multiple responses, so do not total 100%.

[8] Conflict-based stories included land claims, constitutional conflicts, defamation, and self-government issues.

The discrimination that continues against Aboriginal people is evident in the findings of Aboriginal justice inquiries (both provincial and federal) conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The mandate of these inquiries was to determine if and why the Canadian justice system was not meeting the needs of Aboriginal people. The Donald Marshall Inquiry

(Nova Scotia, 1989), the Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (1991), the Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta (1991), the Indian Justice Review Committee, and Metis Justice Review Committee (Saskatchewan, 1992) found that Aboriginal people were victims of discrimination in the justice system (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1996b). Because Aboriginal people face discrimination in society, one can only expect that this treatment would carry over into the workplace. Aboriginal people are the victims of systemic discrimination in the workforce that limits their participation. Systemic discrimination was defined by Rosalie Abella (1984) as:

> the institutionalized systems and practices [that] result in arbitrary and extensive exclusions for persons who, by reason of their group affiliations, are systematically denied a full opportunity to demonstrate their individual abilities (p. 10).

Systemic discrimination against Aboriginals was found by Oishi (1985) in his study of educational attainment and labour market segmentation in the Northwest Territories. He found that although Aboriginal educational attainment had increased, their participation in the labour force had decreased. Oishi stated that non-Aboriginal *in-migrants* were coming to the area and getting most of the jobs. People who recently moved to the area were squeezing the Aboriginal people out of the labour market.

The Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association (1991) found that Aboriginal women were victims of systemic discrimination through company policies and practices. For example, women (and all people who have child care responsibilities) were placed in a precarious position when their employer required all employees to work overtime.

The Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association (1991) further mentioned the need for extensive formal education for clerical positions as policies that exclude Aboriginal people from employment. The inability to obtain jobs further impeded those Aboriginal people whose traditional lifestyles had already been altered by development. Those able to obtain work are often relegated to low-status, labour-intensive, and unstable employment. Aboriginal people worked as manual labourers usually on a short-term basis.

Short-term and sporadic employment opportunities are detrimental for Aboriginal job-seekers. Sometimes it is not the individual but the seasonal or temporary nature of the jobs obtained by Aboriginal people in the resource, construction, or other industries that cause frequent employment disruptions. Frequent layoffs and employment disruptions result in a *spotty* employment record and this coupled with negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people can confirm Aboriginal people as unreliable workers and prevent them from gaining employment.

2.3 Workplace Discrimination

Workplace discrimination can be based on gender, age, or ethnicity. Academic research supports the existence of workplace discrimination against members of the four designated groups. A study of discrimination against visible minorities was undertaken in Metropolitan Toronto. Researchers found that non-whites were one third less likely to obtain jobs than whites applying for the same job (Henry and Ginsberg, 1985). They further found that workplace discrimination had a great impact on the designated groups because they were less likely to get jobs and more likely to be unemployed for longer periods. The Economic Council of Canada (1991) replicated this study and found similar results for visible minorities[9] making job inquiries on the telephone. Workplace discrimination was evident and fewer callers obtained employment. However, results differed for the visible minorities who made in-person job inquiries. Researchers found no discernible discrimination was observed and visible minorities were offered as many jobs as the whites. This suggests a growing acceptance of visible minorities in Canadian society.

According to Elliot and Fleras (1992), discrimination is taking different forms in Canada. They say that *few people will tolerate open expression of racial slurs or defamation against Canadian racial minorities* (p. 59). As a result, those who harbor racist views use a covert, more muted form of racism instead. Polite racism manifests itself in situations where racial minorities are ignored or denied jobs, promotions, or accommodation.

The research has explored employment barriers experienced by women in their study of workplace discrimination and found that jobs were assigned according to gender (Walby, 1990; Reskin and Roos, 1990; Collinson, Knights, and Collinson 1990). It was further found that workplace segmentation, exclusion, and suppression of women in the workforce were sustained through three recruitment practices: reproduction, rationalization, and resistance (Collinson, et al., 1990). Reproduction practices within the workplace ensured that the workplace retained the status quo. Replacement workers were as similar as possible to the outgoing workers. Managerial practices included informal recruitment practices, patriarchal control strategies, and managerial divisions based on gender. They employed informal recruitment to ensure limited competition for employment opportunities by allowing certain people in the system to speak to others they knew who might be *suitable* for the position.

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[9] Telephone callers had West Indian or Indo-Pakistani accents.

This closed network effected the exclusion of those deemed unsuitable. Patriarchal control systems ensured that decisions remained in the hands of male employees. Managerial decisions led to inconsistent treatment of candidates and arbitrary choices.

Rationalization for management choices involves blaming the victim (she did not have appropriate training or experience), society (males need the jobs because they have families to support), and history (many women we hired in the past left to have children). Managers rationalize sex discrimination practices knowing they contravene company policy and state legislation by doing so. As one manager put it *I simply wanted a man for the job* (p. 237).

Personnel managers and trade unions, both had a stake in who was hired, resisted change. Personnel managers wanted to find someone who would fit into the company. This position is supported by the research of the Ontario Metis and Aboriginal Association (1991) who found that some employers perceived the differences between Aboriginal people and themselves to be so great that they were wary of hiring them because they did not want the office culture to change. One way to ensure continuity in the workplace is to use internal labour markets.[10]

Krahn and Lowe (1990) define internal labour markets as an organizational practice of keeping skilled and valuable employees within the organization by providing incentives such as promotions and other career opportunities. The internal labour market benefits both the employer and the employee: the employer retains a skilled employee who is accustomed to the organization's policies and procedures; and the employee receives the promise of career advancement. increased authority, and job security.

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[10] A detailed discussion of the internal labour market is included in Chapter 3.

Internal labour markets ensure that employees are acculturated in the company objectives (Collinson, et al., 1990). It appears that the gatekeepers (those with the authority to control access to the organization) have a preconceived notion of the type of a person needed for a position and then set out to fill the job based on those criteria. The three strategies mentioned by Collinson, et al., (reproduction, rationalization, and resistance) have been successful in limiting the accessibility and promotion of women in this study. Arguably, these strategies have limited Aboriginal people's ability to gain representation in the workplace. Reproduction occurs when Aboriginal people may not be seen as *the right type of person for the job*. DePass et al. (1991) found that Aboriginal people were eliminated from job competitions more often and had more refusals in job interviews. This practice can be viewed as an attempt by employers to *reproduce* the existing system at work and eliminate anyone who is different or who may have disparate views and experiences. Rationalization supports an employer's choice in not hiring an Aboriginal person. Persistent negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people such as low education levels, lack of job-related experience, and poor attendance records can all be used to justify not hiring an Aboriginal person. Resistance to change is similar to reproduction because gatekeepers wish to keep the workplace unchanged. This includes hiring people who are the same as they are and excluding those who are different. This prevalence and persistence of workplace discrimination underlie the introduction of Canada's Employment Equity Act.

2.4 Employment Equity

On June 27, 1983 the federal government struck a Royal Commission to study the effects of discrimination within the Canadian workforce. The Commission's chairperson, Judge Rosalie Silberman Abella, published the findings in a report called *Equality and Employment* [11] in 1984. The Royal Commission was created to find the most efficient, effective, and equitable means of promoting employment opportunities for four designated groups: women, the disabled, visible minorities, and Aboriginals.

Within one week of being formed, the Commission sent approximately 1,000 letters to individuals and organizations soliciting submissions (Abella, 1984). They received 374 written submissions and hundreds of letters. The Commission met separately with women's groups, Aboriginal people, disabled persons and minority groups. During this process, the commissioners heard the designated groups' realities: high unemployment rates, low wage rates, and low occupational status (Gavigan, 1986).

The Commission found established patterns of workplace discrimination that negatively impacted members of the four designated groups. It further concluded those voluntary measures adopted by some organizations were insufficient to overcome the pervasiveness of discrimination in the Canadian workplace (Leck and Saunders, 1992b). Stronger, more specific measures were needed to alleviate workplace discrimination.

Commissioner Abella set forth many recommendations in the *Report of the Commission on Equity in Employment,* whose recommendations led to the passage of the Employment Equity Act (Bill C-62) on June 27, 1986. The Employment Equity Act (1986) states:

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[11] This report is also referred to as the Abella Report.

> The purpose of this Act is to achieve equality in the work place so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reason unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of the goal, to correct conditions of disadvantage...by giving effect to the principle that Employment Equity means more than treating people in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodations of difference. (Section 2)

The federal Employment Equity Act was designed to curb workplace discrimination by reducing and eliminating preemployment conditions such as unequal access to jobs or insufficient educational preparation, and correcting conditions that allow for unequal participation by all in the workplace. Those companies or organizations who fall under the Employment Equity Act participate in either the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) or the Federal Contractors Program (FCP). The Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) covers federally regulated employers, including crown corporations, who have 100 or more employees. These companies include some of Canada's largest employers in the banking, transportation, telecommunications, and other[12] sectors. The Federal Contractors Program (FCP) covers companies or organizations who receive a single contract of $200,000 or more annually from the federal government. These companies must also have at least 100 employees.

The Employment Equity Act forced employers falling under the legislation to increase the representation and status of designated group members. The Employment Equity Act is number-driven and quantifies employers' efforts at creating a more equitable workforce. The LEEP requires employers to report the status of their designated group members each year. Human Resource and Development Canada assesses and publishes LEEP organizations' efforts annually.

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[12] Others sectors include metal mines, coal mines, fish products industry, flour and milling industry, shipbuilding, grain elevator industry, museums, and others.

This legislation contains a provision requiring a full review of the Act after five years and every three years afterward. According to Agocs (1986), this legislation is the result of *persistent occupational inequality in Canada* (p. 148). She further states that awareness and concern over workplace inequality was prevalent for more than two decades before the legislation.

Canada's Employment Equity legislation is similar, but differs in crucial respect, from the United States' Affirmative Action policies and legislation. One difference is the Affirmative Action policy's use of quotas to fill positions, whereas the Employment Equity Program opposes the use of quotas. Provisions for Affirmative Action were started in the United States in the early 1960s[13] (Mills, 1994). This legislation intended to further civil rights by banning discrimination and creating a level playing field for all Americans regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

One may argue that these groups are new entrants to the workplace. Most women, did not join the paid workforce until the end of World War II. Krahn and Lowe (1993) found that women have steadily increased their participation in the labour force from the 1950s to the 1990s. However, women's participation in the labour force began to increase significantly in the 1970s when women were 37% of the paid labour force. Women now comprise approximately 47% of the labour force. Aboriginal people joined the paid workforce after migration to cities began in the 1960s (Comeau and Santin, 1995). Visible minority populations began to grow in Canada when immigration laws changed in 1976 (Agocs and Boyd, 1993). Immigrants began arriving from predominantly non-western European countries such as Asia, Africa, Central and South America (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). People with disabilities in the workforce have increased in number since the implementation of an integration plan begun in the early 1980s (Personal Interview with Representative from the Alberta Council of People with Disabilities, March 18, 1996).

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[13] On March 6, 1961, President John Kennedy signed Executive Order 10925 establishing the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity and spelling out the obligations of contractors doing business with the government with regards to Blacks. In the 1970s this policy was extended to include women and other visible minorities (Mills, 1994).

The four designated groups under Employment Equity legislation have continued to comprise a larger portion of the Canadian population and the Canadian workforce than they have in the past. Their representation in the labour force is expected to increase at a faster rate than for other groups in the workforce. Despite their increased numbers, they are neither distributed throughout the workplace hierarchy, nor represented in numbers commensurate with their segment of the general population. In 1995 women were 47.4% (103,191) of the Canadian Public Service, visible minorities were 4.1% (8,925), disabled people were 3.2% (6,966), and Aboriginal peoples were 2.2% (4,789). These groups made up 56.9% of the Public Service (Treasury Board Secretariat, 1996). According to the Statistics Canada's *Canada Year Book* (1993), the total Canadian labour force was approximately 13,700,000 with a labour force participation rate of 67%, while the total Aboriginal labour force (off-reserve) is 167,090 and the labour force participation rate is 57% (Statistics Canada, 1993a).

2.4.1 Employment Equity Opposition

Employment Equity programs and Affirmative Action policies in the United States have been strongly criticized, although this criticism has not been directed at Aboriginal people per se. Criticism ranges from issues of government *interference* in business to *reverse discrimination.* Critics of Employment Equity and Affirmative Action policies view them as a win-lose situation. If women and minorities *win* by obtaining jobs they may not have obtained before this policy, then someone has to lose (white men who have previously had the advantage).

The issue of mandatory programs to promote the interests of historically disadvantaged groups has become a political minefield. Mills (1994) said affirmative action is a personal issue for many because they feel they have a stake in the outcome. He further stated:

> For the middle-class and working-class whites, who see themselves facing downward mobility in the 1990s, the great fear is that affirmative action will hasten their slide into poverty by closing off opportunities they would have had a generation earlier. For these whites, affirmative action, despite its emphasis on inclusion rather than exclusion, often seems tantamount to reverse discrimination. Women and minorities, especially minorities from the inner city, worry, on the other hand, that without affirmative actions their chances for improving their situation will be lost. They feel that if affirmative action laws aren't strictly enforced the nation will quickly forget that real equality of opportunity means making up for the damage done by past discrimination (pp.4-5).

Some agree that Employment Equity legislation is needed by designated groups because not all employers give promotions based on merit. In fact, the proponents of this program state that the program is long overdue. However, the opponents say that this program is in fact a form of reverse discrimination that harms the very people it is supposed to help (Moodley, 1984; Bricker, 1992; Steele, 1994; Kennedy, 1994). Steele (1994) in his essay on being Black in America, says, *affirmative action causes Blacks to indirectly exploit their own past victimization* (p. 42). He further states that to receive the 'preferential' treatment one must first view himself as a victim (p. 42). He concludes this argument by saying that there is more power in present achievements than in focusing on past suffering.

Opponents say that *special employment programs* are little more than *reverse discrimination*. They believe that merit is no longer a factor in hiring; that race or gender force the employer's personnel choices, and he or she is not free to employ who he or she prefers. They say that these programs operate on a quota system that excludes those not in the designated groups. In fact, some say that Employment Equity or Affirmative Action is detrimental to those covered by the program. Harvard University law professor, Randall Kennedy (1994), states that this program adversely affects the designated groups because it diminishes their accomplishment by placing a stigma upon them (p. 53). Members of these groups are treated as if they have no skills, or their credentials are devalued by co-workers and supervisors.

Employment Equity opponents state that this program makes many assumptions about visible minorities including the myth of financial and social homogeneity among visible minorities (Bricker, 1992). They state that visible minorities do not need the program equally because they occupy both the highest and lowest income levels in Canada. The Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Indo-Pakistani Canadians occupy the upper end of the scale while Aboriginal people retain the lower end. Opponents also argue that some visible minorities are among the best educated in Canada and therefore do not need a special program to help them to find employment.

Moodley (1984) states that Employment Equity will not solve racism and its residual effects of workplace stratification and segregation in Canadian society. He argues that this program only institutionalizes race by giving certain members of society an advantage over others. This perceived advantage can be the basis for ethnic divisions in society and in the workplace. Howard (1995) supports this premise in her study of workers in the Syncrude plant at Fort McMurray, Alberta. She found great racial tension between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals resulting from Aboriginals being exempt from a hiring freeze imposed by the company.

The program is criticized as short-sighted and ineffective (Moodley, 1984; Agocs, 1986; Bricker, 1992). Opponents say there is little value in lumping *disadvantaged* groups together because they have varying life chances based on education and income. They argue that the most astute and sophisticated within the four designated groups will benefit the most whereas the people who need this program will benefit the least (Moodley, 1984).

Opponents of Employment Equity occasionally rely on frivolous arguments to support their view. For example, Bricker (1992) states that former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney could be included under Employment Equity legislation because he is a visible minority because of his Irish surname. The argument that a wealthy, able-bodied, educated, white male is a member of a visible minority in Canada is ridiculous and unrealistic. Is it likely that Brian Mulroney, as an Irishman in Canada, will experience the same employment barriers as an uneducated, Aboriginal, single mother from an Indian reserve?

Research findings on the effectiveness of the program vary. Lum (1994) states that the program is not effective because the companies involved have not moved toward the program objectives. She states that data collection does set improvements in place, but adds it is naive to suppose companies who are not complying with the requirements will report themselves as delinquent. Leck and Saunders (1992b) state that little research has been conducted to identify the types of Employment Equity Programs (EEPs) that organizations adopt, what makes EEPs effective, or the impact the EEPs have on a representative workforce. Agocs (1986) states that the program has yet to yield any effective results or significant changes in the pattern of occupational inequality in Canada.

2.4.2 Employment Equity and Aboriginal People in Canada

Aboriginals applauded the implementation of this legislation, saying it was long overdue. The Abella Commission heard submissions from more than 40 Aboriginals groups who spoke of widespread labour practices that excluded them. These representatives said they wanted to be full members in the workforce.

Various reports support the stories told to the Abella Commission about the Aboriginal condition in Canada. Hagey, et al. (1989a), in their report on Aboriginal life in Canada stated that *Aboriginal Canadians are more likely than other Canadians not to be in the labour force. Those that are in the labour force are twice as likely to be unemployed* (p. 11). Statistics Canada (1993b) supports Hagey et al.'s assertion by stating that the labour market participation rate for Aboriginal people was 57% whereas the labour market rate for the general Canadian population was 68%. The unemployment rate for Aboriginals was 25% and 10% for the Canadian population as a whole. One can see from these statistics that the employment experience of Aboriginal people in Canada has been restricted, and Aboriginal people participate in the Canadian work force at a lower rate than general Canadian population. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993) stated that Employment Equity is needed to move Aboriginal people from their primarily low-paying, low-status jobs.

2.4.2.1 Aboriginal Marginalization within the Designated Groups

Although Aboriginal peoples are one of the four designated groups covered under Employment Equity legislation, it seems they have been marginalized here too. Little research has been conducted on the effect of the Employment Equity Act on Aboriginal people. Library searches of the publications on the four designated groups showed that diverse issues were being researched by the designated groups with the exception of the Aboriginal group.

The interests of the designated groups are represented by national or provincial organizations and/or lobby groups. For example, the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women represented women and monitored their advancement under the Employment Equity Act as evidenced in their publications.[14] The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women had 138 publications[15] listed in the University of Alberta on-line catalogue dealing with various issues including health, human rights, pornography, and pay equity. Publications regarding women's employment include: *Fine Balances: Equal Status for Women in Canada in the 1990s* (1987); *The Reality Gap* (1988); *Women and Labour Market Poverty (*1990); and *Re-Evaluating Employment Equity: A Brief to the Special Commons Committee on the Review of the Employment Equity Act* (1992).

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[14] This organization was disbanded by the Liberal government in 1995.

[15] I conducted an on-line library search and not a journal search .

The Premier's Council for the Status of Persons with Disabilities represents those with disabilities in Alberta. They have many publications dealing with issues of access, employment and quality of life in 29 publications listed in the University of Alberta's on-line library catalogue. The Premier's Council for the Status of Persons with Disabilities deals exclusively with Albertans; however, other provinces also have provincial representative organizations.

Various ethnic and religious groups represent visible minority interests, for example, the Canadian Multiculturalism Association and the Asian Canadian Association. The Assembly of First Nations represents the Status Indian people of Canada. The Assembly of First Nations represents on-reserve Indians. However, off-reserve Indians, Metis, and Inuit are represented by a variety of national and provincial organizations such as the Metis National Council, Native Council of Canada and the Inuit Taperisat of Canada. As a whole, these representative groups are fragmented and have less political influence as a result.

A search of Assembly of First Nations publications revealed a predominance of literature on self-government and land claims. It appears that in dealing with such fundamental issues those Aboriginal political organizations have relegated employment concerns to secondary importance. It is not that employment is unimportant, but land claims and self-government are huge issues that require a tremendous amount of time and resources. I view the Assembly of First Nations as taking a first-things-first approach. Employment and economic development can result from the settlement of the land claims and self-government issues.

To date no comprehensive analysis has been conducted to assess the effectiveness of the Employment Equity legislation on Aboriginal people, although a few recent reports have addressed Aboriginal employment issues within selected organizations (Sloan and Hill, 1995). Most research has focused on women, since they are the largest constituency. Leck and Saunders (1992a) in their study of Employment Equity in Canada, found that the program does not affect the designated groups equally. Women and visible minorities may be gaining more than Aboriginal people and persons with disabilities. They suggest that those with the largest numbers and most powerful lobby groups are the ones to be appeased.

Major studies on class and social stratification in Canada have also continued the marginalization of Aboriginal people because they mention Aboriginal people only as a footnote. For example, Porter's (1973) classic study of social class and power in Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic,* does not even mention Aboriginal people in the table of contents or the index. Recent publications such as Bolaria's (1995) *Social Issues and Contradictions in Canadian Society* (1995) and Curtis, Guppy and Grabb's (1993) *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems and Policies* address the historical aspects of Aboriginal experience in Canada, but do not speak to the contemporary issues and changes within the Aboriginal community. Aboriginal people are viewed as a small, perhaps less important, segment of the Canadian mosaic with their minimal presence in reports of contemporary Canadian society.

In summary, Aboriginal people have been on the fringes in many aspects of Canadian society, especially employment. A review of Aboriginal employment literature shows that Aboriginal people have had limited involvement in the labour market by restricted access and relegation to specific occupations. Potential employers have explained this limited involvement by focusing on the Aboriginal people's lack of valued employee characteristics, which include lack of academic preparation, occupational skills, and experience. The research has looked at the individual's faults and not the faults of the organizations or the community. Essentially, Aboriginal people have been blamed for their inability to *fit in* and obtain employment. Although Aboriginal people may have lacked required skills in the past, this situation is quickly changing. Increased levels of education and increased occupational skills should remove the previous barriers.

The Employment Equity literature shows that before Employment Equity legislation, members of the four designated groups were not represented in the workplace in proportionate numbers. However, all groups have not benefited equally from the legislation. Women have benefited the most and the legislation has been an effective avenue for them.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The theoretical perspectives I use to examine the employment experiences of Aboriginal people in Canada are human capital theory, segmented labour market theory, and the organizational processes perspective.[1] Each perspective has strengths and weaknesses when superimposed on the experience of Aboriginal people in the labour market.

Human capital theory includes the work of Das Gupta (1996), Becker (1993), Peters and Rosenberg (1992), Jensen (1994), Blau and Ferber (1992), Fillmore (1989), Smith (1990), Gwartney-Gibbs (1988), Milkman (1987), Cornfield (1982), Thurow (1975) and others. Becker (1993) provides the basis for the general analysis of investment in human capital. Its subsequent effects on labour market inequalities are examined. This theory holds that those in a disadvantaged position in the labour market owe their inferior status to their lack of investment in their own human capital (Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner, 1984).

Valued attributes of the human capital theory (primarily education and job-related training or experience) influence the Aboriginal person in the labour market. Are individual characteristics or other human capital criteria responsible for Aboriginal peoples' limited involvement in the Canadian labour market? The question can be answered by reviewing Aboriginal employee experiences through the tenets of human capital theory. Hagan and Kay (1995) in their study of gender discrimination in the legal profession say human capital theory allows for workplace situations that are *often choice and efficiency-driven . . . choices are often regarded as freely and rationally chosen while issues of discrimination and exploitation are left for separate consideration* (p. 13). I argue, with evidence from my research, that human capital theory, with its emphasis on screening mechanisms, often distorts discriminatory practices. This thwarts Aboriginal people's advancement in the workplace. I use human capital theory as the basis by which Aboriginal employees are assessed as *suitable* or *unsuitable* by the prospective employer.

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[1] *Organizational processes* perspectives is a term I use to explain the structural and procedural barriers inherent in the workplace and their influence on employees.

The second perspective dealing with Aboriginal employment is labour market segmentation theory. This theory suggests that the labour market is divided along a variety of categories: age, race, gender, or class. Research in the area includes the work of Doeringer and Piore (1971), Bonacich (1972), Cain (1976), Althauser and Kalleberg (1981), Jain (1981), Krahn (1983), Littler and Salaman (1984), Clairmont and Apostle (1986), Villa (1986), Watson (1987), Lowe (1987), Kalleberg (1988), Collinson, Collinson and Knights (1990), Smith and Bernard (1991), Tomaskovic-Devey (1993), and others.

This perspective helps explain whether Aboriginal people are over represented in some occupations and under represented in others. A variant of the labour market segmentation theory, the dual labour market theory, and the internal labour market theory suggests that the workplace is divided into primary markets (secure, well-paying and career-oriented) and secondary markets (unstable, low-paying, and jobs with little opportunity for advancement). Another variant of the labour market segmentation theory, the internal labour market theory suggests that companies do not look outside to fill positions, which limits access to those not already employed with the company. The third perspective dealing with

Aboriginal employment involves characteristics of the work organizations. An examination of organizational processes shows how formal bureaucratic structures and informal cultures, or subcultures, within the workplace direct the advancement and workplace experiences of certain individuals. This suggests that the workplace, through deliberate or unintentional policies and procedures, hampers the advancement of certain individuals (women, minorities, Aboriginals, and disabled people). Practices such as glass ceiling, tokenism, and workplace discrimination all limit advancement. They also make the workplace experience both frustrating and uncomfortable. Research on the glass ceiling includes the work of Braun (1995), Kay and Hagan (1995), Naff and Thomas (1994), and Reskin and Roos (1990). Research on tokenism includes the work of Yoder (1994, 1991), Kane and Stangl (1991), and Kanter (1978). Research on workplace discrimination includes the work of Melandes, Carre and Holvino (1996), Martin and Tuch (1993), Betz and O'Connell (1989), Korabik (1987), and Thornton (1987).

Aboriginal involvement in the labour market has been limited both in number and the type of jobs obtained. Aboriginal people tend to be ghettoized in low-paying, low-status jobs. This chapter begins with an examination of human capital theory and its implications for Aboriginal employees. It continues with an analysis of the labour market segmentation theory and subtheories, the dual labour market theory, and the internal labour market theory, to examine their impact on the Aboriginal labour force. The chapter concludes with an examination of a variety of organizational concepts and explores their ability to explain the Aboriginal workplace experience.

3.1 Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory states that individuals who invest time, energy and money in the pursuit of education, training, and other qualities deemed useful will increase their own worth, which in turn makes them more valuable to the employer (Becker, 1993). Labour economists explain workplace inequalities by the varying endowments of human capital possessed by individual employees. These include innate ability, formal education, vocational education, on-the-job training and on the job experience (Peters and Rosenberg, 1992). Heightened levels of human capital are said to increase the individual's productive capabilities, thus justifying a higher salary and increased job security. Essentially, the employee's possession or lack of valued skills accounts for his or her *success* in the job market.

A person with high value to the company receives more job rewards. The type of job rewards a person receives is determined by how much the job contributes to the economy (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). Job rewards can include high salaries, access to information, autonomy within the workplace, possibilities for advancement, and opportunities for personal development.

Economist Becker (1993) is generally acknowledged as the author of this theory. However, the theory's basic tenets rely heavily on classical microeconomics (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). This theory assumes many things about society generally, and the workplace specifically. First, perhaps most important, this perspective assumes equality of opportunity and equality of condition for all. Equality of opportunity refers to the realities of social stratification, the hierarchical arrangement of rights, privileges and power in society. Human capital theory advocates a meritocratic/ technocratic society that gives the elite a tremendous advantage (Porter 1973; Clement 1985). Those with financial means and family support can attend postsecondary institutions and can commit themselves to extended periods of study. Those from the lower socioeconomic stratum are less likely to attend university and college because they lack the means of support required.

This theory does not make provisions for those from disadvantaged backgrounds or with limited access to information, education, or employment. Research in sociology of education supports the assertion that children from differing socio-economic backgrounds have differential achievement levels in school. Children from poorer families are less likely to succeed in school because they lack the *cultural capital* required to flourish in the middle-class-based educational system (Bourdieu, 1973; Breton, 1970; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bernstein, 1971). The cultural capital theory states that children from low socioeconomic families are at a disadvantage in the school system because they are not academically prepared for school. They lack, or have lower levels of, verbal facility, general culture and information about the school system than middle and upper-class children. The differential educational achievement of lower and middle-class children has not changed in the findings of more recent studies (Carnoy, 1984; Apple, 1979). Given the low socioeconomic position held by Aboriginal people in Canada, it is not surprising that they have not obtained sufficient levels of *cultural capital*, which partly accounts for their subsequent lack of success in the school system (Voyageur, 1993a).

Some assumptions of the human capital theory are problematic. For example, Peters and Rosenberg's (1992) principle of *innate ability* does not necessarily speak to the issue of environmental influences. This is the nature versus nurture debate. In a workplace environment where acquired skills and procedures are needed to do specific tasks, it is ludicrous to think that one might possess *natural mastery*. A person can not construct a bridge simply because he or she possesses natural abilities or an affinity toward engineering. Complex and technical tasks require formal training that may complement *natural ability*.

The *innate ability* factor of this theory is based on a preconceived notion of the individual *qualities* required to perform a given task efficiently and successfully. In this situation, ability is socially constructed and can therefore be politically motivated. As, Collinson, et al. (1990) found in their study of gender-based workplace discrimination, employee selection was not based on *ability*, but on the *type of person* needed to fulfill the requirements set forth by decision-makers within the company. They screened out people from the employee selection process because they did not meet a predetermined set of attributes.

Human capital theory highlights the central role of educational credential, training and experience in hiring and promotion decisions. The focus on educational attainment is problematic for the Aboriginal person because formal education and, to a lesser degree, post-secondary education is a recent phenomenon in the Aboriginal community. Until the early 1970s most Aboriginal people did not view education as an option. Most Aboriginal people lived in rural areas where there was limited access to the academic courses required for entry to postsecondary educational institutions. In addition, most postsecondary institutions were found in larger centres, which meant people had to leave home to pursue further study where they were subsequently streamed into vocational training.

If our society were truly meritocratic and if the human capital theory were accurate, employees with equal credentials and experience would receive equal rewards. A person's ethnicity or gender would not affect his or her rate of pay. This is not so with Aboriginal people. According to a 1990 study commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs, Aboriginal people earn less than non-Aboriginals with the same level of education (Armstrong, et al., 1990; Clatworthy and Hull 1983; Clatworthy 1981; Peters and Rosenberg 1992; DePass et al, 1991; Drost 1995).

A major weakness in the theory is its assumption that all people with the desire, ability, and credentials to obtain a job have equal opportunity. Many other factors impede an individual's ability to obtain suitable employment. In his study of rural versus urban experience for racial minorities in the United States, Jensen (1994) found rural minorities had greater employment barriers to overcome than urban minorities. This introduces geographic considerations into the discussion of human capital theory. Drost (1995) explained the high rate of Aboriginal unemployment in western Canada, in part, by the inability for the demand for qualified workers to keep up with the supply. He found this to be particularly true of Edmonton and Saskatoon/Regina where the Aboriginal unemployment rates were the highest in the country. He stated that there were simply too many qualified Aboriginal workers in these communities to be absorbed by the economy. So, in fact, it is not a person's qualifications that enable him or her to obtain employment, but the economic circumstances that enable workers to be absorbed into the workforce. This type of explanation, although true to some extent, could result in blaming people for their own unemployment and overlooking economic factors that might contribute to the situation.

Prior job experience is another factor that makes an individual more attractive to a potential employer, according to the human capital theory. Aboriginals' lack of job-related experience is another reason cited by potential employers for their refusal to hire them. Many Aboriginal people experience frustration with this reasoning because they see themselves caught in a vicious circle. They are not hired because they are not experienced, and they cannot get experience because they cannot get a job. This sense of frustration was articulated in the Woods Gordon study (1982), which quoted Aboriginal people as saying that the types of jobs they were hired to do required few skills. Although educational achievement is frequently used by employers to select prospective employees, it does not guarantee a satisfied or productive employee. This is especially true of overqualified employees. Tsang, Rumberger, and Levin (1991) found in their study that employees with educational credentials in excess of what their jobs require have low job satisfaction and low productivity. This dissatisfaction also caused higher turnover rates among overqualified employees. Human capital theory states that those who invest in education and obtain job-related experience are the most valuable to the employer. This proposition is contradicted by the varying number of university educated individuals who are unable to find work after they have completed their degrees (Hughes and Lowe, 1993). If human capital theory were true to its principles, this phenomenon would not occur. In addition, human capital theory does not explain the higher unemployment rates for qualified Aboriginal people and visible minorities in Canada.

The recent phenomenon of corporate downsizing contradicts human capital theory by laying off many long-term, technically trained employees. If these people have acquired high levels of human capital, they would not be let go in favour of cheaper, inexperienced workers. For example, as a cost-cutting measure, the University of Alberta is encouraging experienced, tenured professors to accept an early retirement option and hiring less experienced sessional instructors to replace them (University of Alberta, 1995b).

Some tenets of human capital theory such as educational achievement and prior job-related experience are used for managing the labour force by excluding those who do not fit a predetermined set of criteria. Selection committee members usually set a predetermined set of criteria for the *right person for the job.* Because Aboriginal people have been stereotyped as unreliable and lazy workers, they probably would not be chosen to fill a job position. DePass et al. (1991) found that Aboriginal people had higher rates of elimination from job competitions and more refusals in job interviews. Collinson, et al., in their study of gender-based workplace, discrimination found that it played a large role in who was hired. Employee selection was not based on *ability* but on the *type of person* wanted by decision makers within the company. Those who did not fit the criteria were screened out.

Further, human capital theory places the responsibility for unemployment squarely on the shoulders of the individual. It does not acknowledge that the structural barriers such as workplace discrimination, lack of access to employment information, and inequality of opportunity, and inequality of condition inherent in Canadian society are also responsible for unemployment. Society is not equal to all, and factors like class, race, age, gender, and ethnicity play a role in the types of education one receives and the subsequent jobs one obtains. In reality, ability and motivation are not the decisive factors in determining who gets work and who does not.

The experience and qualifications seem secondary to the attributes gatekeepers want. The presence or absence of required traits may be more perceived than real. Gatekeepers, those who have the authority to decide who gets into companies and who does not, usually want people exactly, or almost exactly, like themselves to join their ranks. A person's accent, skin colour, ethnicity or country of origin has little to do with whether he or she can do a job, but it has plenty to do with whether he or she gains entry. Employers who embrace the human capital theory as the basis of their employee selection process use educational credentials as a screening tool.

3.2 Labour Market Segmentation

Many theories attempt to explain the gender, racial, and ethnic segregation prevalent in our workforce. Krahn (1983) stated that labour market segregation theory was *discovered* in the United States in the 1960s, when widespread urban poverty and underemployment among women and non whites led researchers to reassess their reliance on the individualistic human capital models as a sufficient explanation for poverty.

Labour market segmentation theory examines the structural relationship between the access, selection, and participation of workers for available jobs (Althauser and Kalleberg, 1981; Baron and Beilby, 1980; Clement, 1985; DePass et al., 1991; Hodson, 1984; Spaeth, 1984; Van Maanen and Barley, 1985; Milkman, 1987). Segmentation theorists emphasize structural employment barriers that prevent employment mobility (Clairmont, Apostle, and Kreckol, 1983).

Structural barriers inherent in the social and industrial realm create obstacles that inhibit the free flow of qualified individuals into the more advantaged areas of the labour market (Krahn, 1983). A person's gender, race, and ethnicity can impede his or her access and participation in the labour market, although these factors can have little relevance to the person's ability to do a job effectively and efficiently. Garnsey, Rubery, and Wilkinson (1985) stated that restrictions to job entry are usually based on educational and vocational requirements. They also noted that as average educational levels rise, requirements for entry to a given occupation tend to rise also. Qualifications do not guarantee entry but do influence eligibility.

Watson (1987) found that a large portion of people recruited and trained by a company are not viewed in terms of their occupation, but more in terms of the organizational tasks they will perform. The type of education a person received can relate to the person's occupation, but may influence ascriptive (age, gender, status) criteria of eligibility along with the more obvious achievement (performance) criteria.

Villa (1986), in his study of labour market structures in Italy, found that workers' basic characteristics (age, sex, marital status, educational attainment, and previous training) directly defined their position in the labour market. Technical, physical, and attitudinal characteristics of potential employees were used directly to fill vacancies. These characteristics were indirectly used to foresee behavioural patterns in the potential employees (stability, reliability, obedience, diligence) and used by employers as screening devices to define their hiring policies.

Labour market segmentation theory states that there is no single, open labour market operating in our society (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). According to Krahn (1983), industrialized societies have several discrete labour markets operating simultaneously (1983). Occupations and industries are segregated by gender, race, and age and stratified in complex ways.

Gender segregation in the workplace was studied by Kanter (1978) who found that the corporation's structure and its subordination of women into *support*[2] roles placed them (women) at a disadvantage in the workplace. She further found that management ethics were masculine and placed gender-specific, ideological notions on women in the workplace hierarchy. The location of women in the workplace hierarchy was also studied by Milkman (1987) who found women allocated to certain types of jobs.

Research conducted in the Aboriginal community found that Aboriginal people, like women, are concentrated in the secondary labour market (Clatworthy, 1982a, DePass et al., 1991; Peters and Rosenberg, 1992; Waldram, 1993; Howard, 1995). Although there are many facets to the segmented labour market theory -- job ghettoization, internal/external labour market, marginal work forces and surplus labour reserve -- I deal specifically with the dual labour market and internal labour markets and their roles in Aboriginal employment.

3.2.1. Dual Labour Market

Dual labour market theory, a variant of the more general labour market segmentation theory, explains why certain people occupy positions in the workplace. The advantages and disadvantages experienced by certain groups in the workplace are discussed in the following studies. Primary and secondary markets categorize the labour market, according to the dual labour market theory. Unlike human capital theory, which maintains that the most skilled and educated workers will find employment because of their increased productivity levels and their consequent value to employers, the labour segmentation theory implicates social structure and social class into its explanation of the unequal distribution of jobs and labour rewards in the workplace.

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[2] Support means secretarial or assistant positions.

This approach originates in classical and neoclassical economics rather than sociology (Krahn, 1983). Classical economic theory, based on the works of Smith, Ricardo, Malthus and Mill, concerns itself with economic programs to increase the nation's wealth and determine the income among workers. Classical economists wished to show how they could generate economic wealth by harmonizing the interplay of separate decisions by workers and capitalists in the market (Pass et al., 1991). This theory proposed a specific set of mechanisms to account for the observed variations in labour market outcomes (Sorenson, 1983).

Neoclassical economic theory was developed by Marshall and shifted emphasis from concerns about the source of wealth and its division between labour, landowners, and capitalists to the principles governing the allocation of scarce resources (Pass et al., 1991). One of these mechanisms governs the standard economic theory of labour: supply and demand. Neoclassical economic theorists believe that the labour market conforms to supply and demand rules just like other markets (Hirsch, 1980). They state that supply (the number of qualified workers available for employment) determines wages, whereas demand determines the number of available jobs.

Dual labour market theory states that certain types of people (primarily males and nonminorities) obtain employment in the core labour market, whereas others (minorities, youth, and women) tend to work in the peripheral labour market. This approach states that labour markets are subdivided into primary (core) and secondary (peripheral) markets. The primary market is composed of *good* jobs that offer high wages, career structure, stable employment, and chance to acquire skills and advance within the organization (Abercrombie et al., 1988).

Secondary labour markets, on the other hand, consist of *bad*, low-paying jobs with few possibilities for advancement, insecure employment, and limited opportunities for skill acquisition. Mason (1993) found in Toronto that although Native people represent 2% of all new hirings (comparable with their population percentage in Toronto) fewer than 60% of Aboriginal men and 40% of Aboriginal women were in full-time positions. The comparable figure for white men was almost 90%. Aboriginal women find themselves in a *double jeopardy* situation due to their gender and ethnic identity. Studies show that the low education and skill levels of Aboriginal women make it particularly difficult for them to find employment (Clatworthy, 1982a).

Justifications for the secondary labour market can be found in Braverman's deskilling theory. Braverman (1974) stated that the skills of lower-level, nonmanual workers have been greatly reduced over time to a point where employees in the secondary labour market now require little training and can be easily replaced. This assertion is supported by Lowe (1987) whose study of the feminization of clerical work found that deskilling occurred through the routinization and mechanization by reducing the skill component of clerical jobs. Littler and Salaman (1984) stated that employees required limited skill levels to do their jobs, which resulted in monotonous and boring work. Thompson (1989) stated that deskilling dealt with the degree to which skills were transformed and eroded though capitalist development and the extent to which such changes could be called the degradation of labour. He further stated that deskilling was inherent in labour functions that intended to achieve maximum speed, cheapness, replaceability, standardization and calculability for the needs of capital.

Aboriginal employees are found primarily in the secondary labour market and are working at low-paying, insecure jobs. They have become more experienced and more educated, yet sure find themselves in a precarious situation. They have gained credentials and work experience, but still do not seem able to break into the primary labour market. This begs the question about what it is that Aboriginal people must do to advance in the job market. It appears that they have overcome old stereotypes only to have other obstacles placed in the way. DePass et al. (1991) found that 49% of respondents said they were working below their potential in present jobs. These respondents were concerned that they were unable to *show their stuff* because they were not placed in decision-making, problem-solving or supervisory situations that would allow superiors to see their skills.

3.2.2 Internal Labour Markets

Aboriginal people have encountered two problems in the internal labour market. This phenomenon is relevant to large companies that cover firms under the Employment Equity Act and my four case studies. First, Aboriginals have limited access to the company due to screening processes. Second, Aboriginals find themselves influenced by the structural employment barriers, which prevent employment mobility. Many Aboriginal people are hired into positions and are promoted only to a certain point or not promoted at all. This situation is explored further in the discussion of the Aboriginal employer's experience in a subsequent chapter.

Smith and Bernard (1991) found internal labour markets prevalent in companies in highly competitive markets. Internal labour markets were viewed as efficient means of filling job vacancies because existing employees know the policies and nuances of the workplace. Companies with a unionized workforce also used internal labour markets to fill positions. However, they also stated that employees were not immune form external job competition.

Garnsey, et al. (1985), in their study of labour market segmentation and workforce divisions, found that internal labour markets (which they define as those insulated from external labour market competition) and their job structures and promotion ladders included rules and processes by which personnel were selected for posts. They also asserted that the internal labour market, through its patterns of recruitment and promotion from within the firm's hierarchy, intended to keep staff disciplined, reliable, and loyal to the company. Loyalty is an important issue because white-collar employees have access to confidential information. They also stated that beyond the loyalty issue, internal labour markets made economic sense because they reduced labour costs for training. Spaeth (1984) stated that internal labour markets were important to the organizations because they served as administrative devices to allocate, evaluate and promote, and otherwise reward workers. He called them hierarchical opportunity structures.

Bagilole (1986), in her study of women's underachievement in the workforce, found that internal labour markets were structured to men's conventional employment patterns. Those who succeeded in climbing up the corporate ladder had to have a commitment to work and not have career interruption such as maternity leave. Formal and informal factors combined to keep women at a disadvantage in the workforce. There was an understanding that work came first and family responsibilities should not interfere with the performance of one's job. Blau and Ferber (1992) support Bagilole by saying that because of the traditional roles in the family, women anticipate shorter, more interrupted work lives than men.

3.3 Organizational Processes

This perspective looks at the workplace with the view that barriers exist in the organization and corporate culture that limit the inclusion and promotion of certain groups. I explore the glass ceiling, tokenism, and workplace discrimination to examine how they affect Aboriginal employees in the workplace. First, I begin with a brief discussion of organization/corporate culture. Organizational culture creates the social environment in which employees must work. Some environments are flexible and invite differences, whereas other are rigid and resistant to change.

Van Maanen and Barley (1985), in their study of organizational culture, found four domains: ecological (social, physical, and temporal); differential interaction (exchange networks); collective understanding (interpretations of symbols, actions, activities); and reproductive and adaptive capacity. They stated that organizations intentionally differentiate their members by assigning them to relatively insulated roles and position-specific niches. Subcultures form when others in the niche are like them and these subcultures can sow the seeds of resistance or conflict.

Organizational culture either supports or suppresses worker differences. If the company policies accept and respect differences within its ranks, co-workers will usually follow. Acceptance and respect are different than tolerance. Acceptance supports and appreciates difference whereas tolerance merely endures it.

Powell (1993) discussed the means of promoting equal opportunity and valuing cultural diversity within the workplace. He stated that organizations that promoted equal opportunity did not necessarily value (accept and appreciate) cultural diversity. This is a difference between simply trying to increase the number of designated group members with the ranks and creating an environment that appreciates the range of skills and values that dissimilar employees offer.

Van Maanen and Barley (1985) also identified four organizational strategies used by companies: functionalization, specialization, automation, and professionalization. Functionalization fosters domain-specific identities that distinguish employees by the area of the organization in which they work. Specialization narrows the population of employees who do the same type of work and so differentiates sectors with functional areas. Automation creates groups of employees and concomitantly increases the probability of differentiation by proximity and shared working conditions. Professionalization brings together employees with occupational identities and ideologies that set them apart from other employees (Van Maanen and Barley, 1985).

DePass et al. (1991) described corporate culture as *an old boys' club*. It was an essentially male-dominated structure that excluded women both physically and psychologically from social interactions essential for information sharing and networking. The physical aspect of this description is the absence of women throughout the organizational hierarchy commensurate with their representation within the company. The psychological aspects can explain the negative impact of women not being placed in decision-making or problem-solving roles. These aspects are addressed in the following sections.

3.3.1 Glass Ceiling

The glass ceiling is an invisible barrier that blocks career advancement for certain people within an organization. People do not advance up the company ladder past a certain point due to criteria or policies unrelated to the person's ability. The inability to advance may be due to race, age or gender. Women, minorities, disabled people and Aboriginal people may be excluded from upper- level managerial positions for reasons other than their ability to do the job (Braun, 1995). Naff and Thomas (1995) in their study of federal employees found that women had not progressed through the company ranks at the same rate as men. Cans and Monmarquette (1991) found that males and females in a Canadian company received different rates of promotion. Men were promoted more often than women and women did not benefit from the interaction between performance, ambition, and rewards as much as men.

Blocked career paths cause both frustration and resentment in employees. According to Powell (1993) women felt they would not advance past a certain point within their company. The resulting frustration caused women to leave the company. Consequently, *many companies are having trouble retaining and recruiting women* (p. 206). DePass et al. (1991) found respondents resentful of those they called *the blue-eyed boys* who were earmarked for promotion or who had already been promoted. Many viewed the ability to work with senior management on task forces, or appointment to high profile committees as criteria for upward mobility. It was something they were not able to accomplish.

The decision-making process is shown as primarily a male domain. Women, minorities, disabled people, and Aboriginals' inability to gain entry to upper-level management positions has placed them in the role of those who follow orders and not those who give orders. Chaffins et al. (1995), and Wright et al. (1995), found that the glass ceiling resulted in a gender gap in the authority role in the workplace. Women were held in middle-management positions with less pay and less authority than men.

Sometimes subtle barriers such as systemic discrimination are covert but unintended by the employer. For example, if a company's hiring office is in a distant city, local people are unable to apply for jobs unless they travel to the location.

Seniority held by an employee was the focus of a study by Gibelman and Schervish (1993). They found that men held disportionately more management positions and assumed these positions earlier in their careers than did women. Along with this authority came higher salaries.

3.3.2 Tokenism

A token was defined by Kanter (1978) as a member of a subgroup that comprised less than 15% of the whole group. She stated that tokens experienced three common occurrences in their workplace. First, they received heightened attention or visibility that exacerbated pressure to perform well. Second, they felt isolated from informal social and professional networks. Third, they reported a variety of incidents showing they were encapsulated in a stereotyped role. Encapsulated means they felt stuck in a role from which they could not emerge.

Kanter's (1974) work dealt primarily with women and found the structure of the corporation and the subsequent subordination of women into support roles placed them at a disadvantage in the workplace. This is especially true for Aboriginal women who find themselves represented in the clerical positions in their companies.

Tokenism was researched by others who focused on the minorities. According to Webster and Foschi (1988), many characteristics such as minority status, educational attainment, class, and ethnicity caused individuals to feel they were treated as tokens by the majority.

Yoder (1991) stated that numbers are not the only criteria on which to measure tokenism. She argues that numbers as the sole basis for tokenism failed to acknowledge the impact of organizational and gender-based discrimination. Yoder offered three additional criteria: gender status, occupational inappropriateness and intrusiveness to explain the token's workplace experience. Gender status was a negative factor only if the token was of a lower social status than the majority. For example, a token white male usually rose quickly up the ranks surpassing the majority non whites.

Occupational inappropriateness occurred when individuals deviated from their gender-based employment norms. She found that token women in gender-inappropriate occupations experienced performance pressures, isolation, and role encapsulation whereas men did not.

Intrusiveness was a term Yoder (1991) used to describe the threat felt by the majority when minorities began to increase their representation. She also found that the more skewed the occupation was in the favour of men, the higher the occupation's prestige and pay. Along with this prestige and high pay comes a sense of protectionism, which is threatened when minorities begin to increase their representation (Brown and Fuguitt, 1972; Frisbie and

Neidert, 1977). According to Yoder (1991), as the under represented group's number increased substantially, the reaction toward minorities was stepped up to include harassment, blocked mobility, and lower wages. She concluded by saying that women promoted into prestigious male-dominated occupations were often channelled into less prestigious *subspecialities* or *female dominated* ghettos.

Das Gupta (1996), in her study of racism in the workplace, found that tokenism was a means of denying the existence racism in the workplace. She stated that companies would sometimes hire one or two minority people in positions of limited authority. However, she said that this practice did not excuse employers for not having full ethnic or racial representation throughout the organization.

3.3.3 Workplace Discrimination

Workplace discrimination is another organizational process that creates barriers to employees in the workplace. It manifests itself in both overt and covert forms. The literature on discrimination deals with sexual orientation, age, gender, and race discrimination. Noticeably absent is any research on workplace discrimination and the Aboriginal employee. I found only one article on workplace discrimination and Aboriginal people in Canada. Jain (1981) wrote that Aboriginal people suffered from discrimination that both prevented them from entering the workforce but also affected those who did gained employment. For example, the Public Service Alliance (federal agency responsible for hiring federal employees) created an Office of Native Employment. However, recruits faced problems with discriminatory attitudes of personnel managers. Jain stated that lowering racial and sexual barriers does not in itself ensure a supply of qualified people willing to take advantage of the new opportunities. Employers may be compelled to stop discriminatory practices but they cannot be compelled to recruit or train the employers.

Melendes, et al., (1995) in their study of Hispanic employees in the United States found that stereotypes of Hispanics as poor and uneducated negatively affected their ability to find jobs that offered them career opportunities. As a result, Hispanics find themselves concentrated in the farming and service industries with low wages, few benefits, and little opportunity for internal training and career ladders. Telles and Murguia (1990) found Mexican-American and Native Americans with darker skin received much lower wages than those who with lighter skin and more *European* characteristics.

Thornton (1987) found that workplace discrimination based on age, sex, and race diminished the quality of work life for many older women. Older women with lower levels of education and limited work experience were at the greatest disadvantage at finding. Eglit (1989) found anti-ageism legislation enacted in the United States in 1967 had not halted age discrimination; it simply had become more subtle.

Das Gupta (1996) in her study of racism in the workplace, found that many workplace practices were initiated by discrimination, for example, where some individuals are singled out for the dirtiest, heaviest, least secure, and poorest paid positions. Excessive monitoring, too, was viewed as a type of harassment. Das Gupta stated that employer's beliefs that minorities require more guidance to complete their tasks and are incapable of working independently was demeaning.

3.4 A Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Aboriginal Employment

No single theory provides an adequate framework for understanding of Aboriginal people's experience in the workforce. In fact, some theoretical perspectives are philosophically incompatible because of their underlying assumptions about what drives the labour market. Human capital theory is supply-driven and focuses on the individual's characteristics, whereas the segmented labour market theory is demand-driven and focuses on the structure and needs of the labour market. Human capital factors are important in some labour market practices such as hiring practices and internal labour markets. However, segmented labour market theorists contend that labour supply factors must interact with labour market demand to fully explain labour force practices. Peters and Rosenberg (1992) state that unlike human capital theorists, segmentation theorists do not focus on differing productive capacities and preferences of individuals, but on employment itself and the factors within the structure of employment that give rise to outcome differences.

My data were collected from three sources (Human Resource Development Canada Annual Reports, Aboriginal employees employed with organizations with Aboriginal/employment equity programs, and Aboriginal/employment equity employers) and have varying degrees of detail. This varying detail does not allow for the same type of analysis of the data sets. I use a methodological triangulation to explore the richness of the data and to confirm the commonalities of the Aboriginal employment experience. As a result, each data source must be treated in a way that brings out its significance and richness from which a composite picture of individual experiences and organizational context can be drawn.

I have created a composite theoretical framework drawn from the theories, themes, and concepts (human capital, segmented labour market theory, and the organizational analysis perspectives) to analyze relevant issues in the data. I attempt to combine factors from the various theoretical perspectives and concepts to explain more fully the Aboriginal employment experience. I produce a multilevel analysis of individual, organizational, and labour market information. My application of this theoretical framework allows me to describe a group rarely studied using theoretical models.

Part one of my study is an analysis of employment equity reports to show the aggregate trends within the approximately 370 federally regulated companies covered under the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP). This program is number-driven, which means it seeks to increase representation of the designated groups within the employment equity workforce (EEW). This data analysis helps me answer my first research question: *Is the Employment Equity Act a worthwhile endeavour with regard to Aboriginal people? If so, how?*

The quantitative focus results in a lack of detail in the qualitative elements of the reporting. I use core variables of human capital theory (the importance of education and work-related experience to improve life chances) to suggest that some employees can obtain *good* jobs because of their greater educational and job-related experience. I use this theory to decide whether Aboriginal employees are over represented in some occupations and under represented in others. I also use elements of the internal labour market theory, primarily its practice of promotion from within company ranks, to see whether Aboriginal employees are receiving their share of promotions with the companies.

Part two is a case study analysis of employment equity initiatives undertaken by a diverse group of employers from resource-based, telecommunications, finance, and education sectors. This analysis allows for much more detail than the aggregate trends shown in part one. I use human capital theory as a basis for my analysis. These employers use assumptions of human capital theory in screening potential employees. Aboriginal employees have been held to the standards of human capital theory in their pursuit of employment. They have been told they could not hope to gain employment because they did not have the characteristics that made them valuable to the employer.

Unlike the previous data set, this set allows for in-depth reporting of the influence of organizational policy and procedure on Aboriginal employment. An analysis of the organization's literature and interviews with management provides insight into the company's operations. However, I can draw inferences only about the influence of company practices on Aboriginal employment. I also use concepts from the organizational perspective to address how organizational structure, processes, and culture influence Aboriginal employment.

Part three is perhaps the richest data source with its in-depth reporting of the Aboriginal employee's experience in the workplace and human capital theory is incorporated into my analysis. Although this theory has its weaknesses, it highlights the role of education and does explain, in a limited way, how better educated Aboriginals are securing better employment and entering the middle class. Employers use elements of this theory, and its practice of using education and job-related experience as a screening mechanism, to limit access to the organizations. Human capital theory principles, such as the notion of the importance of education and work-related experience in one's ability to obtain a *good* job, has been internalized by Aboriginals. They use education and job-related experience as their own measure of worth to the employer. They have accepted the notion of education as a means to a better livelihood. Many now have educational credentials and expect the status and job opportunities that accompany university degrees and other types of certification. Are Aboriginal employees reaping the benefits of this investment in themselves?

I also ask about the workplace environment. Here I use tokenism as defined by Kanter (1978). Do Aboriginal employees feel they are the centres of attention at work, stifled in their career advancement, or socially isolated? The above theories help me answer my third research question, *Do Aboriginal employees believe their ancestry is a factor in their workplace experiences? If so, how?*

I compare the Aboriginal employment experience, as shown in the data, with the theories to determine whether they adequately support or refute the Aboriginal employment experience. The theories and concepts provide the basis for interpreting the data and presenting the implications of the findings.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This study determines to what extent Aboriginal people have benefited form the Employment Equity legislation through the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) and the Federal Contractors Program (FCP). Research findings also determine whether the Employment Equity legislation's objective of improving the employment prospects for Aboriginals, a historically disadvantaged group, has been achieved.

The preceding discussion raises many questions. To what extent are Aboriginals, as an historically disadvantaged group, securing employment with employers governed by the legislation? Is there a trend toward increased Aboriginal employment with employers included in this program? Are these employees being retained in these companies? Are they obtaining advancement opportunities? These and other questions are answered using the data collection techniques detailed in this section.

Data for this project were gathered from many sources, including the Government of Canada because it is responsible for setting the guidelines and monitoring Employment Equity Act through the LEEP and the FCP. The government also publishes annual reports submitted by employers involved in these programs. Company literature and publications are another source of information for this study. Scholarly, newspaper, and magazine articles provide an external view of corporate policy and practices.

4.1 Study Design

Quantitative and qualitative research methodologies are used in this study. There is much debate in the literature over which methodology is better or more accurate. These two approaches are said to be incompatible because they are based on different paradigms or perspectives about the world and what is valid research (Vanderpost, 1992:56). Best and Kahn (1986) describes the difference between them as a matter of emphasis rather than absolutes. The methodological approach chosen for a study is determined by the researcher's objectives and the variables used to describe the phenomena (Best and Kahn, 1986). I use these different approaches to measure different phenomena in the study and integrate them to provide a comprehensive perspective on Aboriginal employment.

The first part of this study is a quantitative analysis of change over time for Federal Employment Equity data from the Employment Equity Annual Reports. Firestone (1987) wrote that the quantitative perspective is based on the positivist view, in which research seeks to explain cause and effect through observable measurement. This is supported by Berg (1989), who says that quantitative methodology is used when amounts, counts, and measures of things are required. Babbie (1991) agrees that quantitative analysis is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect. This research methodology is appropriate for this portion of the study because I wish to measure the increase or decrease in Aboriginal employee populations. The records I use in this research are not nationally representative, but are the best source of aggregate data available in Canada.

Quantitative analysis allows aggregate trends to be drawn from information gleaned from the approximately 370 federally regulated employers and crown corporations covered under the LEEP. These reports include information on representation, hiring, promotions, and dismissals of company employees. The data are categorized as designated groups. The analysis focused on, but not limited to, the employment of Aboriginal employees in a variety of industrial sectors. The results of this compilation of data are presented in graphs and tables and accompanied by brief descriptions and accompanying explanations.

The second phase of the study uses four case studies. A case study approach was taken to gather comprehensive data on each of the four organizations involved in the study. Yin (1989) states that case studies are not limited to one type of information and that exploratory, explanatory and descriptive case studies are possible. Babbie (1992) wrote that the case study's purpose is to provide a description sufficient to give the reader an understanding and insight of events.

Each case study includes information about the company itself and the specifics of the company's employment equity or Aboriginal employment program. The company's corporate profile and structure are detailed. The initiatives taken to support Aboriginal or Employment Equity programs include: company policies and practices used to support Aboriginal employees; measures taken to increase Aboriginal employment prospects with the company; measures of success; and proposed changes or improvements to existing policies and procedures. This method of data collection is appropriate for this portion of the research because I wish to conduct an in-depth study of each company to explore their policies and experiences.

The third part is a qualitative analysis of Aboriginal employees currently working, or who had worked, in the case study companies. Qualitative methodology lends itself to the exploratory nature of this research. Best and Kahn (1986) stated that the qualitative approach *allows for study that is not ordinarily expressed in quantitative terms but where other means of description are emphasized* (p. 147). Berg (1989) observed that qualitative methods allow for accessibility to facts and observations deemed unquantifiable. Babbie (1991) calls qualitative analysis the nonnumerical examination and interpretation of observations, to discover underlying meanings and pattern of relationships. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) call the qualitative method *multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomenon about the meanings people give to them* (p. 2). I seek to place the Aboriginal employee within the company context and explore his or her subjective views and experiences. This type of information cannot be easily categorized or counted as is the case with quantified data, so the qualitative method suited my purpose and intent for this portion of the data collection process.

4.2 Ethics Approval

Ethics approval clearance was required because human subjects were part of the inquiry. Accordingly, the outline of research design and methodology for this study was presented to the University of Alberta Ethics Review Board, and clearance was given to the project before any interviews were conducted.

The subjects involved in the study were read a Preamble that fully disclosed on the purpose and intent of this research (Appendix A). The respondents' identity is known only to me. A letter of consent was signed by each person involved in face-to-face interviews, those involved in telephone interviews gave me oral consent to continue after I read them the Preamble.

4.3 Description of Methodology

Many research techniques were used to collect data in this study. I use methodological triangulation in my study to capture the position of Aboriginal employees in the workplace from various perspectives. I use quantitative, case study, and interview methods to gather my data. As mentioned above, the study has three parts, each of which requires different data collection procedures. The first part involves secondary data analysis with the units of analysis being designed group employees with LEEP companies; the second used interview techniques with Aboriginal employees as the units of analysis; and the third phase applies case study data collection procedures to the organization's policies and programs as the units of analysis.

4.3.1 Secondary Analysis

Data collection for the first part of the study includes secondary data analysis. Babbie (1991) described secondary analysis as *a form of research in which the data collected and processed by one researcher are re-analyzed -- often for a different purpose -- by another. This is especially appropriate in the case of survey data* (p. 558). The population for the first part of the study, the analysis of change over time, is all companies under the employment equity legislation. The sample for this research phase is the companies submit annual employer reports to Employment and Immigration Canada.

Secondary analysis consists of an examination of official data and Employment Equity Annual Reports. This involves an analysis of change over time from 1986 to 1995 to determine whether Aboriginals, as one of the four designated groups under Employment Equity legislation, have benefited from the legislation. These data were examined to determine the representation of Aboriginal employees relative to the other designated groups. The data were also examined to determine whether Aboriginal employees have increased in number and proportional representation over the review period. These data are presented in tabular and graph form and are accompanied by explanatory text.

The secondary analysis of existing data has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of secondary analysis is that analyzing existing data is faster and easier. The yearly publication of the Employment Equity Annual Reports by Employment and Immigration Canada allows for an analysis of change over time. Through this type of analysis one can detect trends over time. For example, it can show whether the representation of Aboriginal people has increased or decreased since the program's inception.

Secondary analysis is also cost-effective, whereas primary data collection is expensive, and this type of data analysis is practical when time is limited. Analysis can begin almost immediately, which is useful with a shot-term project. The disadvantage of secondary analysis is that validity may be compromised when data are collected for one purpose and are later reanalyzed for another purpose. Whereas primary data collecting allows questions to cover the exact issues, secondary data analysis has limited generalizability.

Another drawback of secondary analysis is that the data may be dated. For example, the most recent census data available are from 1991.[2] The demographics of a community or region can change considerably in six years. For example, recent boom or bust cycles would not be covered in this type of data source.

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[2] Statistics Canada conducted a Census of Canada in 1996, but the data will not be available to the public until late 1997 or early 1998.

These data are well suited for the type of research I am conducting. The data are consistent, although refinements to data presentation have been made over the years. For example, the tables used to display results have become more intricate. In addition, these data are unique. Few sources contain such dependable and accurate data on both the labour force and the designated groups.

4.3.2 Case Study

The second phase of the study is a series of case studies. McNeill (1985) stated that inquiry is considered a case study when:

> there involves an in-depth study of a single example of whatever it is the person wants to investigate. It may prompt further, more wide-ranging research, providing ideas to be followed-up later, or it may be that some broad generalization is brought to life....There is no claim to representativeness, and the essence of the technique is that each subject studies, whether it be an individual, a group, an event, or an institution, is treated as a unit on its own (p. 88).

Case studies allow for in-depth research into the company's policies and procedures regarding employment equity. Corporate literature, public documents, magazine and newspaper articles, scholarly publications, and interviews were used to examine the initiatives taken by the company. The analysis focused on company reports and other related documentation. In addition to the secondary analysis of documents, interviews were conducted with human resources personnel and upper management. I used an interview schedule to conduct a semistructured interview. Interviews were either face-to-face or on the telephone and took approximately one.

I constructed a survey instrument that dealt with many aspects of the employers' experience and company policy. The interview schedule was designed for management and covered two areas: company policy/experiences and Aboriginal employment data (see Appendix C). These qualitative data were tabulated and analyzed. Comparisons drawn between the case study organizations and their initiatives are kept to a minimum because it is the intention of this research to explore the initiatives taken by the various organizations, not to determine superiority or inferiority.

The companies involved in the case study analysis are in three categories. They either fall outside the Employment Equity Act as in the case of Syncrude Canada; are members under the LEEP as with Telus Corporation and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce; or fall under the jurisdiction of the FCP as in the case with the University of Alberta.

I selected the companies involved for the case studies. I wished to include a variety of industrial sectors: resource extraction, education, finance, and telecommunications because I wished to focus on Aboriginal employment experiences in many employment settings. I also wished to include organizations that mirrored those covered in the LEEP. I also needed companies to be based in western Canada for ease of accessibility and to limit travel time and expense for interviews. In addition, most of Canada's Aboriginal people live in the western provinces. According to Statistics Canada, approximately one half of Aboriginal people enumerated in the 1991 Census of Canada lived in the four western provinces (1993a).[3] All employers were based in western Canada except the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce[4] (CIBC) whose headquarters is in Toronto, Ontario. When requested recommendations from individuals and organizations during recruitment of participants for this study, my supervisor Dr. Graham Lowe guided me through the selection process. Members of the Edmonton Network of Employment Equity Practitioners also made suggestions. This group consists of approximately 30 local organizations who meet monthly to share information and discuss employment equity.

In addition to the Edmonton Network of Employment Equity Practitioners, I spoke with Robert Laboucane, the Executive Director of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business. This organization has been in existence since 1984 and runs many programs promoting Aboriginal business including the Native Internship Program. Through the Native Internship program Mr. Laboucane has had extensive contact with corporate Canada and could suggest possible companies.

Methodological triangulation ensures that all facets of the company programs are included and verified. Babbie (1991) defines triangulation as *the use of several different*

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[3] The 1991 Census of Canada states that 530,035 of 1,002,675 Aboriginal people live in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. However, a more accurate enumeration of Aboriginal people could have been obtained but for a widespread boycott of the 1991 Census by Treaty Indians throughout Canada.

[4] Originally, I approached the Bank of Montreal to participate in my research, because I have frequently seen advertisements announcing their Aboriginal Banking program in Native newspapers. I was also steered toward them by Robert Laboucane, the Executive Director of the Canadian Council of Aboriginal Business (CCAB). I was told that the Bank of Montreal was *a forerunner in Aboriginal Banking*. They seemed keen to participate initially when I approached them. However, I was unable to obtain any information after trying for approximately nine months. In the interest of completing my research, I approached the CIBC where I was received quite differently.

methods to test the same finding (p. 109). Because each research methodology has strengths and weaknesses, the use of many techniques enhances accuracy and validity. Hurst (1996) calls it *the study of some social phenomenon using a combination of method to establish convergent validations and capture thorough and holistic portrayal of the organization in question* (p. 67). Triangulation provides a view of the organizations from multiple perspectives.

4.3.3 Interviews

The third phase of the study uses face-to-face and telephone interviews to gather qualitative data. Babbie (1991) describes survey research as used for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory, purposes in studies with individuals as the units of analysis. He further states, *survey research is probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly* (pp. 203-204).

The population for the third part of the study, the Aboriginal employee profile, are self-identifying Aboriginal employees working, or who had worked, with the four case study organizations. Although some employees were known[6] to be Aboriginal, interviewees were not pursued unless they declared themselves as Aboriginal either tome or their employer. The nonrandom sample are the Aboriginal employees (10 from each company for a total of 40;

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[6] Not all Aboriginal employees choose to declare their Aboriginal heritage to employers or co-workers. Some fear stigma and discrimination will result if their heritage were known. One person called me and angrily asked how I knew she was Aboriginal since she hadn't told anybody at work. She had been E-mailed by the company's Human Resources Manager who knew she was Aboriginal because another person from her reserve worked at the same company.

25 females and 15 males) who agreed to participate by consenting to be interviewed either over the telephone or in person.

I constructed a survey instrument that dealt with many aspects of the employees' experience. The questionnaire covered eight areas: demographic information, employment history, job satisfaction, career development; organizational context, employment equity policy, social environment, and experiences as Aboriginal Employee.

Two companies circulated my research objectives to all Aboriginal employees over their E-mail systems. My telephone number was included and interested employees were asked to contact me. I was able to obtain most of my participants from these companies through this method. Contacts in the other companies facilitated my entree into the company.

Using a snowball sampling technique, I sought out the remainder of the Aboriginal employees to participate in this study. Aboriginal employees at various levels of the company hierarchy were interviewed about their experience within the company.[7] I wished to gain insights into the professional, personal and social experiences of being an Aboriginal employee at that company.

Interviews were conducted either on the telephone or face-to-face and took approximately one hour to complete. Telephone interviews were beneficial to the research because a physical and psychological distance was maintained between me and the interviewee, which gave the interviewees a sense of anonymity and allowed them to be more candid. Although I knew some interviewees, I still believe that not being in a face-to-face situation allowed them to speak more openly about their experiences. I perceived that face-to-face interviewees were more reserved in their responses, perhaps because they were concerned about making a favourable impression on me.

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[7] I assume that in a company of this size an administrative hierarchy is in place.

However, face-to-face interviews allowed me to *read* the interviewee's responses more accurately as I was able to observe and listen. The effects of their experiences were sometimes expressed through nonverbal indictors such as voice intonation and body language. These valuable signs of emotion and conviction, can of course be missed in a telephone conversation.

Throughout the interviews I was able to gain much insight into the Aboriginal employee's workplace experience. How they answered the question became as important as what they said. For example, some employee's responses elicited a pro-company stance whereas others' responses were less enthusiastic.

Interviewing my respondents gave me a high response rate. It would be easy to ignore a mailed questionnaire, but difficult to refuse a request for an interview. This method afforded me the potential of completing the interview and obtaining data when the individual agreed to participate. It also allowed me to reword a question to make it more understandable or less threatening for a given interviewee. It also allowed me to gather more meaningful information because the interviewee could not omit any question or answer it incorrectly because it was misunderstood. Participants were cooperative and thoughtful in their answers, and only one person refused to answer one question.

The more probing questions elicited negative memories, and although these were painful for some, all answered. People's voices choked with emotion when they recalled negative experiences, and I was moved by the honesty shown by the interviewees and their candor in answering.

4.4 Operationalization

The progress and commitment of the organization were determined by the existence, type, and developmental phases of the companies' *special measures* used to increase and retain Aboriginal employees. These special measures (recruitment, training, retention, orientation) were assessed with the assistance of the company's human resources coordinator or manager and Aboriginal employees.

I use Mason's (1993) evaluation criteria to measure the success or failure of the employer's employment equity practices. According to Mason, the four basic building blocks of employment equity measures are barrier elimination, job accommodation, positive measures, and supportive measures. Mason defines them as follows:

> Barrier elimination includes: ensuring that interviewing is free from racial, gender and disability bias; giving equal consideration to equivalent qualifications in jobs where designated groups are under-represented, and; recognizing volunteer experience and exercising fair assessment of prior learning and working experience when determining candidate suitability.
>
> Job Accommodation involves the elimination of obstacles (often but not exclusively physical) to the adequate fulfilment of duties by designated group members. This type of measure is of particular interest to disabled persons. Initiatives like the use of braille print or readers, and the modification of duties help to ensure that designated group members can perform their duties satisfactorily.
>
> Positive measures entails targeted outreach (using community organizations and newspapers), *fast track* career training to expedite the advancement of designated groups traditionally under represented in management positions, and recruitment of designated group members into positions with increased responsibility.
>
> Supportive measures include initiatives to balance work and family (e.g. daycare), flexible working arrangements and mentoring programs (p. 14).

The company's commitment to the program can be determined by the development of their Aboriginal employment programs relative to the length of time they have been involved in the initiative. For example, it was expected that a well-developed program achieved in a short time would show commitment to the program. Employers were questioned regarding the goals, time lines, and evaluation criteria assigned to company policies.

I wished to place the Aboriginal employee within the company context. The Aboriginal employees' standing in the company was determined by the type of work they performed (nonskilled, semiskilled, skilled); trades; clerical/administrative; supervisory or management. Factors such as length of time employed with the company, port of entry, promotions, pay increases, and increases in responsibility were examined to determine whether the employee had progressed within the organization.

4.5 Limitations of this Research

This study is limited to reporting the data published in the sources used in the secondary analysis. Other employers may have voluntarily started successful programs but fall outside the guidelines of the Employment Equity Act, and those companies are not included in this analysis although their initiatives might be successful.

The case studies are limited to those industries chosen for a series of defensible reasons. Other industrial sectors have innovative programs but are not included in the study. In this regard, the sample can be viewed as self-selecting, which might biases the results. Nevertheless, there are advantages to this nonrandom sampling technique.

This study is limited to those employees who self-identify as Aboriginal. Some chose not to self-identify because they felt that doing so would stigmatize them in the workplace. In addition, some Aboriginal people do not feel they need special programs to aid them in the workplace and that they can succeed independently. For these reasons, there may be an under reporting of the number of Aboriginal people working in the industries.

The key informants, the persons interviewed, were chosen because of their knowledge about or direct involvement with the program or because they occupied positions of responsibility for Aboriginal employment policies and practices. They cannot be considered a representative sample in quantitative terms.

Because this research involves case studies, these findings speak specifically to the organizations involved. The presence or absence of tenets of human capital theory and labour market segmentation within these companies can be examined. Findings cannot be generalized to other organizations not involved in this study because circumstances, initiatives, and policies may be different. Nevertheless, similarities and differences between company policies can be assessed.

CHAPTER 5

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT ANNUAL REPORTS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to locate Aboriginal people employee by the approximately 370 federally regulated employers included in Human Resources Development Canada's *Employment Equity Act Annual Reports*. I discuss the overall employment trends for Aboriginal employees with employers that fall under the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP). The reports cover Employment Equity statistics for *full-time*[1] employees for the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) from 1987 to 1995

This section is quantitative because the Employment Equity Act seeks to increase the numbers of the designated groups within companies covered by the Act. The annual reports show the trends emerging from the data but do not give a detailed explanation of why certain phenomena occur. Human capital theory and the internal labour market theory provide the theoretical framework for data analysis in this chapter.

The data in this chapter has two focuses: the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) and the Aboriginal Employment Equity Workforce. The EEW data are separated by the four designated groups: women, Aboriginals, disabled people, and visible minorities. This analysis shows the employment trends for the designated groups covered under the Employment Equity Act. The Aboriginal Employment Equity Workforce data are separated by gender. This analysis shows whether male and female Aboriginal employees receive equal treatment (the same rate of hirings, promotions, and terminations) in the LEEP workplace.

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[1] I used only full-time employees in this study because they provided the most consistent data. Part-time employees were sparsely represented in some designated groups.

Findings discussed in this chapter advance the argument that Aboriginal people are not advancing in the LEEP workforce commensurate with their representation in the Canadian population. The final section includes a discussion of findings. Questions raised in this chapter include the change in representation for Aboriginal employees: Are a proportional number of Aboriginal employees leaving the company? If so, how can this be explained? Have they increased as much as the other groups? Is there a gender difference in the Aboriginal workforce?

5.1 Employment Equity Workforce (EEW)

This section shows the employment data for the four designated groups: women, Aboriginals, the disabled, and visible minorities from 1987 to 1995.[2] The analysis of change over time details the comparative position of Aboriginal employees with the other designated groups. This shows if any particular group has advanced over the others or obtained more benefit from this program, the purpose of which is to improve the employment situation of all groups.

Table 5.1 presents a comparison of designated group employment data and Canadian labour force (CLF) from 1987 to 1995. The information in this table is divided among the

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[2] Membership in the designated groups is not mutually exclusive. An individual can be counted in two or sometimes three groups. For example, an employee can be counted as a woman, an Aboriginal, and a person with disabilities. The 1988 Employment Equity Act Annual Reports states that dual membership occurs with approximately 9% of women in the EEW. Because there is no way to determine double or triple membership for the employees, I treat each count in the report as an individual.

Table 5.1. Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) and Canadian Labour Force (CLF), 1987 - 1995

	Number of Employees								
Year	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Women	241,537	253,426	268,125	276,161	272,334	269,089	264,299	265,661	261,180
Aboriginals	3,862	4,364	4,966	5,387	5,914	6,092	6,030	6,577	6,882
Disabled People	9,352	10,289	14,732	15,119	15,446	15,318	14,847	15,703	16,055
Visible Minorities	34,970	34,232	42,096	44,768	46,638	47,618	46,822	49,282	51,930
Total Design'd Groups	289,721	302,311	329,919	341,435	340,332	338,117	331,998	337,223	336,047
Total EEW	586,861	601,626	630,161	631,423	617,341	602,265	579,068	597,819	587,400
CLF[3]	12,422 (000)	12,819 (000)	13,086 (000)	13,165 (000)	12,916 (000)	12,842 (000)	13,015 (000)	13,292 (000)	13,560 (000)

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Report*, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

Statistics Canada, *Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1995*. 1996 (Cat. No. 71-201).

Statistics Canada, *Canadian Economic Observer, 1995-1996*. 1997 (Cat. No. 11-210).

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[3] CLF figures show employed people in Canada 15 years of age and over.

four designated groups: women, Aboriginals, the disabled, and visible minorities. It shows women as the largest population followed by visible minorities, disabled people, and Aboriginals. Women increased in number from 241,537 in 1987 to 261,180 in 1995 (8.0%). Aboriginals increased in number from 3,862 in 1987 to 6,882 in (3,020 people, or 78%).

Numbers of disabled people increased from 1987 to 1991, then declined slightly until 1995 (overall increase is 6,703 employees, or 72%). Visible minorities show an increase from 34,970 in 1987, to 51,930 in 1995 (16,960, or 48%).

Overall, women show the largest numerical gain (19,643) and Aboriginals the smallest (3,020). However, relative increases, show that the Aboriginal employee population increased the most at 78%, whereas the population of women (the largest numerical gain) increased by only 8.0%. Aboriginal people are a small but rapidly growing sector of the Employment Equity workplace.

Numbers if designated groups in the EEW combined grew by 46,326 or 16% from 1987 to 1995. However, the EEW increased by only 539 (0.3%) employees from 1987 to 1995. In 1987 members of the designated groups represented 49% of the EEW; in 1995 this increased to 57%, indicating that the designated groups are increasing their representation in the EEW. Members of the designated groups were not terminated at the same rate as nondesignated group members during the recession. For example, in 1991 designated group members showed a decrease in their representation of 1,103 or 0.3 % over the previous year while the EEW decreased by 14,082 or 2.2 %. It appears that attempts were made to retain designated group members. During this time, the CLF also decreased by 249,000 or 1.9%.

The EEW lost more of its workforce during the recession, mainly among nondesignated group members.

The CLF increased from 12,422,000 in 1987 to 13,560,000 in 1995 for a net increase of 1,138,000 or 8.8%. Increases occurred in seven of the nine years under review, and decreases occurred during two years of the recession. The EEW increased slightly by 1.3% while the CLF increased by 8.0%, which means that federally regulated companies experienced a slower growth rate than the CLF. They were also more affected by the recession, which meant shrinking opportunities for all groups. This may be partially explained by their size (federally regulated companies have more than 100 employees) and the fact that many large companies were undergoing downsizing (reducing the number of employees). The designated groups increased at a higher rate (16%) than both the EEW (0.3%) and the CLF (8.8%).

The proportional representation of each designated group[4] changed from 1987 to 1995. In 1987, women had the largest representation of the designated groups with 83.3%, visible minorities were 12.2%, disabled people were 3.2%, and Aboriginals were 1.3%. In 1995, women were 77.7%; visible minorities were 15.5%; disabled people were 4.8%, Aboriginals were 2.0%. Thus the representation of women in the designated group total population decreased while the other groups increased.

Table 5.2 shows the designated groups as a percentage of the CLF and the EEW and their ratio of the CLF and the EEW from 1987 to 1995. It shows that women's share of the

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[4] The total designated group representation does not include men who fall outside the Aboriginal, disabled, or visible minorities. In this regard the total designated groups differ from the EEW.

EEW decreased to 77.7 % in 1995 from 83.3% in 1987. Meanwhile, the representation of the other designated groups increased: Aboriginals from 1.3% in 1987 to 2.0% in 1995 (54%); disabled people from 3.2% in 1987 to 4.8% in 1995 (50%); visible minorities from 12.2% in 1987 to 15.5% in 1995 (21%). So although women were still the largest group represented in the EEW, the other groups were growing. Although the results show significant increases for the two most under represented groups, Aboriginals and the disabled, these increases are largely due to their low representation at the beginning of the program.

Women comprised 44% of the CLF from 1987 to 1995, and their proportion of the EEW increased from 41.2% in 1987 to 44.4% in 1995. The ratio for women in the CLF to the EEW was 1:0.9 in 1987 and 1:1.1 in 1995, which shows a greater representation of women in the EEW than the CLF by 1995. This suggests an effort by the federally regulated companies to increase women's representation in their workforce.

Aboriginals comprised 2.1% of the CLF from 1987 to 1995 and their proportion of the EEW increased from 0.7% in 1987 to 1.0% in 1995. The ratio for Aboriginals in the CLF to the EEW was 1:0.3 in 1987 and 1:0.5 in 1995. Although this shows more Aboriginals in the EEW in 1995, this representation is still lower than Aboriginal representation in the CLF.

Table 5.2. Comparison of Designated Groups in Total Designated Group (TDG), the Canadian Labour Force (CLF), and Employment Equity Workforce (EEW)

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	%								
Women									
% of TDG	83.3	83.8	81.2	80.9	80.0	79.5	79.6	78.8	77.7
% of CLF	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0	44.0
% of EEW	41.2	42.1	42.6	43.7	44.1	44.7	45.7	44.4	44.5
Ratio CLF to EEW	1:0.9	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1	1:1.2	1:1.4	1:1.1	1:1.1
Aboriginals									
% of TDG	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0
% of CLF	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
% of EEW	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2
Ratio CLF to EEW	1:0.3	1:0.3	1:0.4	1:0.4	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.6
Disabled									
% of TDG	3.2	3.4	4.5	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.8
% of CLF	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4
% of EEW	1.6	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.7
Ratio CLF to EEW	1:0.3	1:0.3	1:0.4	1:0.4	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.5	1:0.5
Visible Minorities									
% of TDG	12.2	11.4	12.8	13.1	13.8	14.2	14.1	14.7	15.5
% of CLF	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.3
% of EEW	6.0	5.7	6.7	7.1	7.6	7.6	8.1	8.2	8.8
Ratio CLF to EEW	1:1	1:0.9	1:1.1	1:1.1	1:1.2	1:1.2	1:1.3	1:1.3	1:1.4

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Report*, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).
[illegible]tics Canada, *Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1995.* 1996 (Cat. No. 71-201).
Statistics Canada, *Canadian Economic Observer, 1995-1996.* 1997 (Cat. No. 11-210).

Disabled people comprised 5.4% of the CLF from 1987 to 1995. The disabled's proportion of the EEW increased from 1.6% in 1987 to 2.6% in 1995. The ratio for the disabled in the CLF to the EEW was 1:0.3 in 1987 and 1:0.5 in 1995. So more disabled people were in the EEW than the CLF by 1995. Visible minorities comprised 6.3% of the CLF from 1987 to 1995, and their proportion of the EEW increased from 12.2% in 1987 to 15.5% in 1995. The ratio for visible minorities in the CLF to the EEW was 1:1 in 1987 and 1:1.3 in 1995, which shows more visible minorities in the EEW than the CLF by 1995. These data show that although the designated groups have increased their representation in the EEW, their representation in the CLF has remained constant. In 1995, women remain the largest designated group in the CLF at 44.0%, followed by visible minorities at 6.3, the disabled at 5.4%, and Aboriginals at 2.1%.

The number of women in the EEW and the CLF are comparable at 44.0% and 44.5% respectively, showing that women's representation between the two labour forces is commensurate. However, the representation of Aboriginals in the EEW and the CLF shows a larger representation for Aboriginals in the CLF than the EEW with 2.1% and 1.2% respectively. Aboriginal people have greater representation in companies not covered by the Employment Equity Act than in federally regulated companies. Twice as many disabled individuals are employed in the CLF than in the EEW. So the disabled represent 2.7% of the EEW and 5.4% of the CLF. Visible minorities have greater representation in the EEW (8.8%) than in the CLF (6.3%).

To summarize, visible minorities received the greatest advantage from the

Employment Equity Act as their representation in the EEW exceeds their representation in the CLF. This may be because of high levels of education among visible minorities (Hou and Balakrishnan, 1996).

Table 5.3 show the annual net change for the EEW by designated group from 1987 to 1995. The data shows that there have been increases in the EEW through most years under review except the recession years of 1990-1992. This decrease may be due to the nature of the EEW, which includes employees with larger companies who may have downsized during this time. Numbers of Aboriginals and visible minorities declined in only one year, compared with the disabled population, which declined for two years and women whose numbers had declined for three consecutive years. It should be noted that the Aboriginal category has the lowest number of people leaving their employer in this period followed by disabled people, visible minorities, and women. The increase/decrease category at the bottom of Table 5.3 shows increases in the designated EEW in four of the eight comparison years. Increases occurred before the recession (1988-1990) and again in 1994 (after the recession), and decreases occur in 1991, 1992, and 1993 (during and just before the recession), and again in 1995. The net change in the designated EEW shows a one-year lag between the beginning of the recession and a decrease in employees. This one-year lag also occurs in employee increases in 1994. This may indicate an attempt by employers to retain workers as long as possible after the recession began in 1991 and a cautionary action not to hire more employees until a year after the end of the recession. The 1995 employee decreases may be explained by too many people being hired in 1994 and subsequently terminated.

Table 5.3. Annual Net Change for Designated Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) by Designated Group - Canada

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
	Base	Annual Net Change Over Previous Year								
W.	241,537	11,889	14,699	8,036	(3,827)	(3,245)	(4,790)	1,362	(4,481)	19,643
Abo.	3,862	502	602	421	527	178	(62)	547	305	3,020
D P	9,352	937	4,443	387	327	(128)	(471)	856	352	6.703
V M	34,970	(738)	7,864	2,672	1,870	(980)	(796)	2,460	2,648	16,960
TDG	289,721									
Incr/ Decr		12,590	27,608	11,516	(1,103)	(2,215)	(6,119)	5,225	(1,176)	46,326

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Reports*, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990) ,1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995) , 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

( ) denotes decrease.

* Total Designated Groups.

In 1995 the record shows that visible minorities had the largest population increase in the EEW. This group had an increase of 2,648 individuals, while the overall designated EEW decreased by 1,176. Again, this may be due to high levels of education in this category. It may also be a result of the Canadian government's *high end* immigration policy that permits highly qualified people to immigrate to Canada.

5.1.1 Designated Groups

The next series of tables present information for the full-time EEW, specifically the occupational distribution by gender from 1987 to 1995 for each of the four designated groups. The occupational distribution shows the number of people in upper-level management, middle, and other management, professionals, semi professionals, or technicians, supervisors, foremen or women, clerical workers, sales workers, service workers, skilled craft/trades workers, semi skilled manual workers, and other manual workers. One would expect the job descriptions and duties to change over the period under review due to changing technology and changes in the structure of the workplace due to downsizing. For example, a clerical position in 1987 might have very different in duties and responsibilities than in 1995.

Analysis of these tables shows the gender differences within each of the occupational categories. The questions answered in these tables include the following: Are there occupational categories in which either gender is disportionately represented? If so, what are they? What are the characteristics of these of the jobs? Are these jobs high-paying or low-paying?

5.1.1.1 Women

Table 5.4 reports the occupational distribution for full-time female employees in the EEW (see Appendix B for a detailed description of occupations). Column totals equal 100% separately for males and females. The +/- column shows the absolute gains or losses in the occupational categories from 1987 to 1995. The data show the largest increases in the clerical and middle and other manager categories. From 1987 to 1995, men had the largest increase in the clerical category (10.0%), and women had the largest increase in middle and other managers (4.1%). In fact, a larger portion of female (15.1%) than male (14.1%) employees were in the middle and other managers category in the last year under review.

Clerical workers had the largest number of constituents of any occupational category in the EEW. In 1987, 61.5% of females in the EEW were recorded as clerical workers, rising to 63.4% in 1995.

Table 5.4. Occupational Distribution of Full Time Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	+/-
Upper Level Managers										
Male	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.3	--
Female	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Middle/Other Manager										
Male	14.1	15.4	15.3	15.4	15.6	15.9	16.6	14.5	14.1	--
Female	10.7	13.3	14.1	14.3	15.0	15.6	17.0	14.4	15.1	4.4
Professionals										
Male	5.6	5.4	5.9	6.3	6.5	6.7	6.3	7.0	7.3	1.7
Female	5.7	5.9	6.1	6.4	6.7	6.9	6.3	5.8	6.1	0.4
Semi Prof & Tech										
Male	7.3	7.5	7.5	7.8	7.6	7.8	7.9	8.0	8.0	0.7
Female	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	--
Supervisors										
Male	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.6	<0.6>
Female	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.2	5.2	5.1	4.7	3.7	3.5	<1.8>
Foremen/women										
Male	4.8	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.1	3.6	3.5	3.2	<1.6>
Female	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	<0.1>

Clerical Workers										
Male	6.9	14.8	14.4	14.7	14.6	14.9	15.3	16.1	16.9	10.0
Female	61.5	63.2	62.1	61.9	61.0	60.4	59.8	63.7	63.4	1.9
Sales Workers										
Male	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.0	<0.3>
Female	2.7	3.6	3.3	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.4	<0.3>
Service Workers										
Male	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.1	0.4
Female	3.0	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.4	3.6	2.8	2.9	<0.1>
Skilled Craft & Trades										
Male	17.4	17.4	17.6	18.4	18.5	18.8	18.4	18.5	18.1	0.7
Female	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.3
Semi-skilled Manual										
Male	27.0	18.9	18.8	17.7	17.7	16.9	17.1	17.0	17.2	<9.8>
Female	7.0	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.6	1.7	<5.3>
Other Manual										
Male	8.7	8.4	8.1	7.6	7.5	7.2	7.1	8.1	8.2	<0.5>
Female	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.4
Column Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: See Table 5.3 for sources.

< > denotes decrease.

Interestingly, males in this category increased 10.0% whereas females increased only 1.7%. Clerical work, characterized by low pay and little autonomy, has been primarily a female domain with most employed women working in this category. Although more clerical workers overall, are still female, numbers of males have increased significantly.

The data show that in 1995, although women are employed in all occupational categories, they are concentrated in a few occupations. The EEW had 63% of women in clerical jobs and 15.1% in middle or other managers. The fewest women are in the forewoman (0.2%) and upper-level manager (0.3%) categories. From 1987 to 1995 women have gained the most in the middle and other managers category with a 4.4% increase. Numbers of women declined the most (5.3%) in the semi skilled manual workers category.

To summarize, Table 5.4 indicates the changing composition of the EEW. Women are gaining ground in middle management but decreasing in traditionally female categories such as sales, clerical, and service workers. The advancement of females into middle management gives them more authority and responsibility than they had previously. However, their authority is limited, and most women are still not in decision-making positions where policies and procedures are created. Decisions are made in the upper-level managers category that contains few women.

5.1.1.2 Aboriginals

Table 5.5 reports the occupational distribution for full-time Aboriginal employees in the EEW (see Appendix B for a detailed description of occupations). Column totals equal 100% separately for males and females. The +/- column shows the absolute gains or losses in the occupational categories from 1987 to 1995.

Table 5.5. Occupational Distribution of Full Time Aboriginal in the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	+/ -
Upper-level Managers										
Male	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	<0.1>
Female	0.1	0.1	--	--	0.1	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	--
Middle/Other Manager										
Male	6.9	7.6	7.2	7.1	6.7	6.6	6.8	7.9	7.4	0.5
Female	6.0	11.4	10.8	9.3	9.8	9.0	9.1	10.1	11.3	5.3
Professionals										
Male	2.3	2.0	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.6	3.1	3.9	4.0	1.7
Female	3.5	3.2	3.6	5.1	4.9	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.6	1.1
Semi Prof & Tech										
Male	5.3	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.0	5.6	5.8	6.7	6.4	1.1
Female	1.9	1.5	0.9	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.7	2.8	0.9
Supervisors										
Male	1.5	1.5	2.1	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.8	0.3
Female	5.0	5.4	5.4	4.6	4.3	3.3	2.6	3.0	3.2	<1.8>
Foremen/women										
Male	6.9	6.4	6.4	6.8	6.5	5.5	5.5	4.6	4.3	<2.6>
Female	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.2	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	<0.5>

Clerical Workers										
Male	6.5	12.4	13.3	13.4	13.3	16.6	17.3	16.1	17.2	10.7
Female	62.8	66.5	65.8	66.6	67.4	70.5	71.1	69.6	67.2	4.4
Sales Workers										
Male	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	<0.6>
Female	2.4	3.2	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.4	--
Service Workers										
Male	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.7	1.9	1.4	1.7	<0.3>
Female	1.6	4.2	3.9	2.6	2.3	2.3	1.7	1.3	1.5	<0.1>
Skilled Craft /Trades										
Male	16.9	16.5	17.2	17.0	17.7	17.5	17.2	17.0	15.9	<1.0>
Female	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.3
Semi skilled Manual										
Male	35.8	28.0	25.9	25.8	25.0	23.3	23.2	24.4	24.7	<11.1>
Female	13.8	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.7	<11.1>
Other Manual										
Male	13.5	16.6	16.1	16.5	16.5	15.9	15.7	14.6	14.9	1.4
Female	1.9	2.0	3.3	3.7	3.6	4.3	3.8	3.2	3.3	1.4
Column Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: See Table 5.3.
< > denoted decrease.

Data for upper-level managers show a decrease in the proportion of upper-level managers from 0.5% in 1987 to 0.4% in 1995 for males and remained unchanged at 0.1% for females.

The middle and other manager category shows an increase in its proportion of the EEW, increasing for males by 0.5% from 1987 to 1995 and 5.3% for females in the same period. Female representation in this category increased to 11.3% in 1995, whereas the male representation increased only to 7.4%. This category shows the second highest level of growth for Aboriginal women (the first being clerical). This may be because more Aboriginal women obtain postsecondary education than Aboriginal men.

Aboriginal male professionals increased their proportion of the EEW by 1.7% from 1987 to 1995, and Aboriginal female professionals increased their representation by 1.1%. An analysis of gender representation in the professionals group in 1987 showed more female than male Aboriginal professionals. However, during observation, females increase their representation by only 1.1%, whereas males increased by 1.7%. This may suggest that men, rather than women, are being promoted or hired into this category.

The semi professional and technicians category also increased by 1.1% from 1987 to 1995 for males and 0.9% for females. Although the increases are similar, there were more than twice as many male semi professional technicians as female. The supervisors category suggests an overall increase of 0.3% for males and a decrease of 1.8% for females. There are approximately twice as many female supervisors as male. Female supervisors absorbed all the net job losses in the category, whereas males increased slightly during the period under review.

Analysis of the clerical worker's category shows a substantial increase of 10.7% for males from 1987 to 1995, while females increased only 4.4%. Sales workers' populations show a decrease of 0.6% for males. Females remain unchanged at 2.4%, and males account for all job losses in this category. Male service workers show a 0.3% decrease from 1987 to 1995 while females decreased 0.1%.

Male skilled craft and trades workers show a decrease of 1.0% between 1987 and 1995, and there is a slight increase of 0.3% for females. Males dominate this category. For example, in 1995, 15.9% of the male Aboriginal EEW was in this category compared with 0.7% of the female Aboriginal EEW. Throughout this study, there was virtually no change in the craft and skilled trades workers' representation in the female Aboriginal EEW.

Semi skilled manual workers have decreased significantly in the EEW. In 1987 35.8% of the male Aboriginal EEW were in this category. This figure decreases by 11.1% to 27.4% in 1995 In 1987 13.8% of the female Aboriginal EEW were semi skilled manual workers. This representation decreases by 11.1% to 2.7% in 1995.The last category, other manual workers, shows an increase of 1.4% for both males and females.

To summarize, Table 5.5 reveals the changing composition of the Aboriginal EEW. Aboriginal women are gaining ground in middle management, clerical, and manual worker positions but are losing ground in supervisory, sales and semi skilled manual worker positions. Positions have been lost by service workers and semi skilled manual workers. As in Table 5.4, workers in the lower echelons are more losing positions than higher strata. Aboriginal workers have gained in the lowest occupational category, other manual workers.

The distribution of Aboriginal employees throughout the EEW suggests that Aboriginals have been successful in obtaining some *good* jobs, that is those with increased levels of authority, autonomy and higher wages. I include the Employment Equity Act occupational categories (upper-level managers, middle and other managers, professionals, semi professional/technician, supervisors and foremen/forewomen) into this category. Between 1987 and 1995 the percentage of the male EEW in the good jobs category increased 0.9% from 23.4% to 24.3%. This means that approximately one quarter of the male Aboriginal EEW are in good jobs. The representation of the female EEW in the good-jobs category increased 5.1% from 17.1% to 22.2% during this period. Women have shown greater gains in their representation in the good jobs category but still fall below Aboriginal males' representation. I assume that Aboriginal peoples' higher attainment of educational levels is driving change in the types of jobs and number of jobs they obtain in the EEW. I explore this hypothesis further in Chapter 7 when I review the employee profiles.

This suggests that some Aboriginal employees have benefited from the acquisition of human capital and obtained good jobs in the EEW. Most of the Aboriginal employees in the EEW are in jobs characterized by limited autonomy, authority, and lower wages. Some may have been hired into those positions but, many have gained them promotion. This indicates the internal labour market's practice of promoting employees from within the company. The Employment Equity Act Annual Reports show that Aboriginal employees received approximately 4,500 promotions in the EEW for the period under review. Although Aboriginal females received more promotions than Aboriginal males, promotions for Aboriginal males are increasing.

I assume that many Aboriginal employees who received promotions are employees have seniority with the companies. There is no way of knowing how many promotions were given to new recruits. For example, they may have been hired into entry-level positions that were below their educational and work experience levels and quickly promoted into a more suitable position. The fact that the hirings and terminations over this period are similar (a gain of 433 employees over nine years) indicates that perhaps promotions are being given to people who have seniority in the company.

5.1.1.3 Disabled Employees

Table 5.6 reports the occupational distribution for full-time disabled employees in the EEW (see Appendix B for a detailed description of occupations). Column totals equal 100% separately for males and females. The +/- column shows the absolute gains or losses in the occupational categories from 1987 to 1995.

The data for male and female upper-level managers show slight increases in the disabled EEW representation. In 1987 1.1% of the male disabled EEW were in this category and this increases to 1.3% of the male disabled EEW in 1995. In 1987 0.1% of the female disabled EEW were upper-level managers, and their representation remains virtually unchanged in 1995.

The middle and other managers category indicates increases in both male and female disabled employee representation from 1987 to 1995. In 1987 middle and other managers were 13.8% of the male disabled EEW, and this representation increases to 17.6% in 1995. Women made up 7.9% of this category in 1987 and 15.5% in 1995. This category showed the highest level of growth for disabled women at 7.6%.

Professional disabled males increased their representation in the disabled EEW by 1.3% from 1987 to 1995. During this period professional disabled females decreased their

Table 5.6. Occupational Distribution of Full Time Disabled People in the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	+/ -
Upper-level Manager										
Male	1.1	1.2	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.3	0.2
Female	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Middle&OtherManager										
Male	13.8	15.4	20.5	20.6	19.3	19.3	20.0	18.2	17.6	3.8
Female	7.9	10.3	13.2	14.2	15.1	15.8	16.6	14.6	15.5	7.6
Professionals										
Male	5.6	5.0	6.0	6.4	6.3	6.5	5.9	6.7	6.9	1.3
Female	5.1	5.6	5.0	5.2	5.3	5.4	4.8	4.5	4.8	<0.3>
Semi Prof & Tech										
Male	6.4	6.0	5.2	5.3	5.1	5.6	5.8	7.3	7.0	0.6
Female	1.5	1.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.5	--
Supervisors										
Male	2.1	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	<0.1>
Female	6.2	6.7	7.2	6.7	6.6	6.8	5.6	4.4	4.2	<2.0>
Foremen/women										
Male	5.5	4.2	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.3	<3.2>
Female	0.4	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	<0.3>

Clerical Workers										
Male	10.0	18.1	17.7	17.5	19.6	20.4	21.2	21.7	25.2	15.2
Female	67.6	70.2	70.0	68.6	67.4	66.2	67.0	70.2	69.7	2.1
Sales Workers										
Male	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	<0.7>
Female	1.6	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.1	<0.5>
Service Workers										
Male	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	<0.4>
Female	1.6	1.5	1.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.0	<0.6>
Skilled Craft & Trades										
Male	17.3	17.6	16.7	17.4	17.5	17.4	16.4	17.0	16.0	<1.3>
Female	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	--
Semi skilled Manual										
Male	25.6	16.5	14.3	14.1	13.7	13.5	14.0	13.4	13.2	<12.4>
Female	7.2	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	<6.4>
Other Manual										
Male	9.2	9.8	8.3	7.5	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.9	6.5	<2.7>
Female	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.3
Column Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: See Table 5.3 for sources.
< > denotes decrease.

representation slightly. Although the data indicate near gender parity in 1987 (5.6% male to 5.1% female), a small gap occurs by 1995. Although disabled male professionals' representation increased, the disabled female representation decreased. This shows that males, rather than females are being promoted or hired into this category.

The semi professional and technician category indicates a slight increase of 0.6% for males from 1987 to 1995; female representation did not change. The supervisor category shows overall decreases for both males and females. Males decrease their representation in this category by 0.1% from 1987 to 1995 while the female decrease is larger at 2.0%. Analysis by gender shows there are approximately twice as many female supervisors as male. The female supervisors' population absorbed most of the losses in the category whereas the male population decreased only slightly (0.1%).

The foremen/women category reveals decreases for both males and females. Males decrease their representation in this category by 3.2% from 1987 to 1995, and the female decrease is 0.3%. Analysis by gender shows that this category is dominated by males. The male population absorbed most of the losses in the category while the female population decreased only slightly (0.3%). Analysis of the clerical category shows substantial increase. Male EEW representation in the clerical category increased by 15.2% from 1987 to 1995. The female EEW representation in the clerical category increased by only 2.1% from 1987 to 1995. In 1995 25.2% of the male disabled EEW and 69.7% of the female disabled EEW were recorded as clerical workers.

Both male and female sales workers' representation in the EEW decreased. For the period under review, disabled male representation in the sales workers' category decreased by 0.7%, and females' representation deceased by 0.5%. Male service workers show a 0.4% decrease from 1987 to 1995 and females decreased by 0.1%. Male skilled craft and trades workers show a decrease of 1.3% between 1987 and 1995, and there is no change for females. In 1995 16.0% of the male disabled EEW was in this category compared with 0.4% of the female disabled EEW.

Semi skilled manual workers have decreased significantly in the EEW. In 1987 25.6% of the male disabled EEW were in this category; this figure declined by 12.4% to 13.2% in 1995. In 1987 7.2% of the female disabled EEW were semi skilled manual workers; this representation decreases by 6.4% to 0.8% in 1995. The last category, other manual workers, shows a decrease of 2.7% for males and a slight increase (0.3%) for females.

To summarize, Table 5.6 reveals the changing composition of the disabled EEW. Women are gaining ground in middle management and clerical positions, but have lost ground or remained unchanged in the remainder of the categories.

5.1.1.4 Visible Minorities

Table 5.7 reports the occupational distribution for full-time visible minority employees in the EEW (see Appendix B for a detailed description of occupations). Column totals equal 100% separately for males and females. The +/- column shows the absolute gains or losses in the occupational categories from 1987 to 1995.

The data for male and female upper-level managers show slight decreases in the visible minority EEW representation. In 1987 0.7% of the male visible minority EEW were in this category, and this decreases to 0.6% in 1995. In 1987 0.1% of the female visible minority EEW were upper-level managers and this remains unchanged in 1995.

The middle and other manager category indicates decreases for males and increases for female visible minority employee representation from 1987 to 1995. In 1987 middle and other managers were 14.2% of the male visible minority EEW. The representation decreases to 12.6% in 1995. Women made up 8.3% of this category in 1987 and 13.3% in 1995, and this category showed the highest level of growth for visible minority women at 5.0%.

Professional visible minority males increased their representation in the visible minority EEW by 2.7% from 1987 to 1995. During this period professional visible minority females increased their representation by 1.2%. Twice as many males as females are in this category. The semi professional and technician category indicates a slight increase of 0.6% for males from 1987 to 1995, and females also show a slight increase of 0.2%. Males dominate this category. The supervisor category shows overall decreases for both males and females; males by 0.2% and females decrease by 2.8%. There are more female supervisors than male, and the female population absorbed most of the losses in the category, whereas the male population decreased only slightly (0.2%).

The foremen/woman category reveals decreases for both males and females, males by 3.7% from 1987 to 1995 and females by 0.1%. This category is dominated by males, who absorbed most of the losses in the category while the female population decreased only slightly (0.1%).

Table 5.7. Occupational Distribution of Full Time Visible Minority in the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	+/ -
Upper-level Manager										
Male	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6	<0.1>
Female	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	--
Middle&Other Manager										
Male	14.2	15.7	15.4	15.0	15.2	15.0	15.2	13.4	12.6	<1.6>
Female	8.3	10.2	10.9	11.5	12.0	12.4	13.8	12.9	13.3	5.0
Professionals										
Male	13.6	16.5	16.1	16.5	16.9	17.2	16.4	17.2	16.3	2.7
Female	6.8	7.8	7.4	7.7	8.3	8.6	8.5	7.9	8.0	1.2
Semi Prof & Tech										
Male	4.5	5.0	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.9	5.5	5.1	0.6
Female	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.5	0.2
Supervisors										
Male	2.5	3.5	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.3	<0.2>
Female	6.5	6.2	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.4	5.0	4.2	3.7	<2.8>
Foremen/women										
Male	5.0	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.7	1.3	<3.7 >
Female	0.2	0.1	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	<0.1>

Clerical Workers										
Male	12.5	23.2	24.0	25.0	25.0	26.0	26.0	26.0	27.2	14.7
Female	66.3	70.4	70.1	70.1	68.8	67.8	67.2	68.5	67.9	1.6
Sales Workers										
Male	2.5	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.9	1.7	<0.8>
Female	1.3	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.3	--
Service Workers										
Male	1.7	2.6	3.2	2.2	2.6	2.1	1.8	1.6	2.1	0.4
Female	0.8	1.7	2.3	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.7	0.9
Skilled Craft and Trades										
Male	13.2	16.9	16.6	16.3	15.9	15.1	14.4	12.7	11.5	<1.7>
Female	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1
Semi skilled Manual										
Male	26.6	7.8	8.5	8.2	8.0	7.8	8.1	8.6	8.9	<17.7>
Female	7.8	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	<7.3>
Other Manual										
Male	3.1	4.5	4.8	5.2	4.9	5.5	6.2	8.3	10.4	7.3
Female	.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.2
Column Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source: See Table 5.3 for sources. < > denotes decrease.

Analysis of the clerical category, shows a substantial increase for males, increasing by 14.7% from 1987 to 1995. The female EEW representation increased by only 1.6%. The data show that in 1995 27.2% of the male visible minority EEW and 67.9% of the female visible minority EEW were recorded as clerical workers. Male sales workers' representation in the EEW decrease for the period under review. Male representation decreased by 0.8%; females' representation remained the same at 1.3%. Both male and female service workers showed slight increases from 1987 to 1995, males by 0.4%, females by 0.9%.

Skilled craft and trades workers show a decrease of 1.7% between 1987 and 1995 for males, and there was virtually no change for females. Males dominate this category. For example, in 1995 11.5% of the male visible minority EEW was in this category compared with 0.3% of the female visible minority EEW.

Semi skilled manual workers have decreased significantly in the EEW. In 1987 26.6% of the male visible minority EEW were in this category, and this figure decreases by 17.7% to 8.9% in 1995. In 1987 7.8% of the female visible minority EEW were semi skilled manual workers, decreasing by 7.3% to 0.5% in 1995. The last category, other manual workers, shows increases for both males (7.3%) and females (1.2%).

Table 5.7 reveals the changing composition of the visible minority EEW. Women are gaining ground in middle management and clerical positions but losing ground or remaining unchanged in the other categories.

In summary, Tables 5.4 -5.7 reveal the absolute change in the full-time EEW for each of the designated groups from 1987 to 1995. The data indicates increase of male EEW representation in the clerical category. Aboriginal men increased 10.7%, male disabled employees by 15.1%, and male visible minority employees by 14.7%. This indicates a trend toward males increasing their representation in a female-dominated occupation. This may be due to increasingly complex technology and the widespread use of computers. It may also be a product of knowledge being used as a commodity in the service industry. Males experienced the greatest losses in the semi skilled manual workers category with Aboriginal males decreasing by 11.1%, the disabled employees by 12.4%, and visible minorities by 17.7%.

Women gained the most in the middle and other managers category, with an increase of 4.4 percentage points while losing the largest number of employees in the semi skilled manual workers category (5.3%). Women increased the least in the clerical workers category, which showed increases in the Aboriginal and disabled groups. This suggests little change in women's participation in the clerical category. As in the previous category, women have maintained a relatively stable workforce with only minor variations. Aboriginals female increased their representation the most in the clerical category. In fact, Aboriginal females have the greatest increase of any group in this generally low-paying and low-status occupation. Female Aboriginal semi skilled workers lost the largest representation at 11.1 percentage points, although this loss could be due to advancement rather than unemployment. They increased the most (5.3%) in the middle and other managers category. Aboriginals are experiencing a more unstable employment situation and greater fluctuations in their employment representation than are other groups.

Disabled males gained the most representation in the clerical category with a 15.2% gain, whereas disabled females gained the most: 7.6% in the middle and other managers category. The largest loss for disabled males was experienced in the semi skilled workers category with 12.4%. Like Aboriginals, disabled people are experiencing a more unstable employment situation.

Visible minorities, like most other groups, increased representation the most in the clerical workers category. This is particularly true of male visible minorities who had a 14.7% increase. The other manual workers category showed the largest increase for visible minorities with 7.3 %. This group lost the most heavily in the semi skilled manual workers category with 17.7%.

To summarize, increasing numbers of females from the designated groups are entering the middle manager and other managers category. In the professional category, visible minorities gained the most over the period of observation followed by Aboriginal people. Only women and disabled people increased their representation in the highest occupational level; Aboriginals and visible minorities lost representation in this category.

Reductions in representation begin with supervisors and continue through the ranks to foremen/forewoman, sales workers, service workers, skilled craft and trades workers, and semi skilled manual workers. In opposition to this overall trend, males experienced increases in clerical work. This is an interesting phenomenon because clerical work has been primarily a poorly paid female occupation. If males are now starting to enter this occupational category it may suggest a defeminization trend.

5.2 Aboriginal Employment Equity Workforce

In this section I discussed the full-time Aboriginal Employment Equity Workforce. Data are presented by industrial sector and by gender for the 1987-1995 period. The purpose is to identify Aboriginal employees' position in the workplace to determine the extent of their concentration in certain sectors. The analysis of change over time shows whether, and how, each sector has changed for the period under review. First, I provide a brief description of the Aboriginal employment situation before the Employment Equity Act was enacted in 1986. Aboriginal people are Indians,[5] Inuit or Metis who so identify themselves to their employer, or agree to be so identified by an employer, for the purposes of the Employment Equity Act (Human Resources Development Canada, 1988).

Questions addressed in this section include the changes in representation of Aboriginal employees and their hirings, terminations and promotions. Are a disportionate number of Aboriginal employees terminated? If so, how can this be explained. Have they increased representation as much as the other groups? Is there a gender difference in the Aboriginal workforce?

5.2.1 Aboriginal Employment before the Employment Equity Act

Between 1981 and 1986 the number of Aboriginal people employed in the CLF increased from 122,465 to 210,605, a 72% increase (Human Resources Development Canada, 1988). The CLF was reported by Statistics Canada as 12,054,155 in 1981 and 13,141,750 in 1986, an increase of 9.0% (Statistics Canada, 1984, 1989). The growth of Aboriginal participation in the CLF is huge. This increase may be attributed partly to the passage of Bill C31[6] in 1985 reinstating Treaty status to Indian people who had either lost or did not qualify for it consequently, the number of people who could identify themselves as Aboriginal increased significantly. For example, according to Indian Affairs information, the number of Status Indians in 1981 was recorded as 323,782. This number increased to 387,829 in 1986 (an increase of approximately 20% over the 1981 figure). Bill C31 Indians account for approximately one quarter of the 20% increase in the Indian population. This trend continued in the 1991 Canadian Census where 511,791 Status Indians were recorded, shows an increase of approximately 32% over the 1986 population. Bill C31 Indians account for approximately 16% of the total registered Indian population (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1997).

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[5] Indians refers to both Status and Non-Status Indians as defined by the Government of Canada.

[6] Bill C31 attempted to eliminate the sex discrimination in the Indian Act by reinstating Indian status to women (and their children) who married non-Indian men and others who

In 1986 the Aboriginal participation rate in the CLF was 60% compared with 50% in 1981 (Human Resources Development Canada, 1988). The Aboriginal labour force participation rate was below the national average of 64.8% in 1981 and 66.0% in 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1984, 1989a). Higher unemployment rates are experienced by Aboriginal people. For example, in 1986 Aboriginal unemployment rates were twice as high as the CLF at 22%. Aboriginal youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years and those more than 45 years of age are the hardest hit by unemployment (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988).

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were enfranchised for a variety of reasons including: enlisting in the military, gaining a university degree or joining the clergy.

5.2.2 Aboriginal Employment in the Employment Equity Workforce

The data in the following tables cover full-time Aboriginal employees working for employers included in LEEP. Aboriginals are members of the EEW and employed in the banking, transportation, communications, and others sectors.

Table 5.8 indicates the distribution of full-time Aboriginal employees by year, gender, and industrial sector from 1987 to 1995. The percentage of females in each industrial sector is also reported. Aboriginal employees working for the employers under the LEEP have increased by 78.2% from 1987 to 1995. Male Aboriginal employees have increased 68% and female Aboriginal employees have increased 94%.

In 1987 Aboriginal females made up 87.6% of the total full-time Aboriginal workforce in the banking sector, females comprised 72.5% of the total full-time banking workforce (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988). This suggests fewer Aboriginal males than non-Aboriginal males were employed in the banking sector. However, in 1995 females made up 75.4% of the total full-time banking workforce and Aboriginal females made up 81.8% of the Aboriginal banking workforce, indicating that females in the banking sector increased their representation over males. The reverse is true for Aboriginal females, who lost positions to Aboriginal males. The representation of Aboriginal males increased from 12.4% of the Aboriginal workforce in 1987 to 18.2% in 1995. Table 5.8 shows that the Aboriginal employee population in the banking industry has increased by approximately 92% from 1987 to 1995. Female Aboriginal employees also increased by approximately 79% from 828 in 1987 to 1,481 in 1995. Records show that male Aboriginal employees are making gains in the banking industry.

Table 5.8. Distribution of Full-time Aboriginal Employees by Year, Gender and Industrial Sector

	Industrial Sector					
Year	Gender	Banking	Transportation	Communication	Others[7]	All Sectors
	Number of Employees					
1987	All	945	1,461	1,075	381	3,862
	Male	117	1,250	550	315	2,232
	Female	828	211	525	66	1,630
	Female's %	87.6	14.4	48.8	17.3	42.2
1988	All	963	1,781	1,093	527	4,364
	Male	128	1514	564	424	2,630
	Female	835	267	529	103	1,734
	Female's %	86.7	15.0	48.4	19.5	39.7
1989	All	1133	1,886	1,396	551	4,966
	Male	170	1,565	745	431	2,911
	Female	963	321	651	120	2,055
	Female's %	85.0	17.0	46.6	21.8	41.4
1990	All	1,281	1,899	1,551	656	5,387
	Male	199	1,573	818	474	3,064
	Female	1,082	326	733	182	2,323
	Female's %	84.5	17.2	47.3	27.7	43.1
1991	All	1,493	2,005	1,660	756	5,914
	Male	231	1,649	858	527	3,265
	Female	1,262	356	802	229	2,649
	Female's %	84.5	17.8	48.3	30.3	44.8

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[7] Others includes mining, milling, gas and oil industry, agriculture, theatrical and other staged entertainment service and museums, etc. A complete list can be obtained from the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports.

1992	All	1,559	1,925	1,834	774	6,092
	Male	250	1,573	925	545	3,293
	Female	1,309	352	909	229	2,799
	Female's %	84.0	18.3	49.6	29.6	45.9
1993	All	1,596	1,958	1,776	700	6,030
	Male	278	1,572	891	489	3,230
	Female	1,318	386	885	211	2,800
	Female's %	82.6	19.7	49.8	30.1	46.4
1994	All	1,756	1,875	1,972	974	6,577
	Male	307	1,516	1,013	704	3,540
	Female	1,449	359	959	270	3,037
	Female's %	82.5	19.1	48.6	27.7	46.2
1995	All	1,811	1,810	2,114	1147	6,882
	Male	330	1,456	1,102	855	3,743
	Female	1,481	354	1,012	292	3,139
	Female's %	81.8	19.6	7.9	25.4	45.6
Net Change 1987/95						
All		866	349	1,039	766	3,020
Male		213	206	552	540	1,511
Female		653	143	487	226	1,509
% Change 1987/95						
All		91.6	23.9	96.6	201.0	78.2
Male		182.1	16.5	100.0	171.4	67.7
Female		78.9	67.7	92.7	342.4	92.5

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

The transportation sector has the largest number of Aboriginal employees for all but the last two years of study (1994 and 1995). This sector also shows a steady increase in the percentage of females employed. Table 5.8 shows the transportation industry has increased its Aboriginal employee population by 24% from 1987 to 1995. The number of male Aboriginal employees has increased by 17%, from 1,250 in 1987 to 1,456 in 1995. Female Aboriginal employees have increased by 68% from 211 in 1987 to 354 in 1995. The percentage of the female Aboriginal workforce in the transportation sector has increased continuously from 14% in 1987 to 19% in 1995.

For the communications sector, Table 5.8 shows an increase of 97% in Aboriginal employee population from 1987 to 1995. The proportion of males to females has remained fairly equal through the period under review, at 49% female. The number of Aboriginal employees in this sector has increased significantly. Male employees have doubled from 550 in 1987 to 1,102 in 1995. The female Aboriginal employee population has increased by 93% from 525 in 1987 to 1,012 in 1995.

For the others sector, Table 5.8 shows an increase of 766 from 381 in 1987 to 1,147 in 1995 or a 201% increase. Males have increased their representation in the sector by 540 or 171%, and females have increased their representation by 226 or 342%. Women's representation remained constant through the period, going from 49% in 1987 to 48% in 1995. Aboriginal females have continually increased their numbers throughout the period of study, and Aboriginal males increased in number every year except 1993.

Table 5.9 shows the percentage increase or decrease in the Aboriginal workforce over the previous year for full-time Aboriginal employees (EEW) by gender and year from 1987 to 1995. Table 5.9 shows the increase in the Aboriginal workforce as 56.2% overall. The male Aboriginal workforce increased 49.7% and the female Aboriginal workforce increased 66.1% for the period.

Table 5.9. Percent Change Over Previous Year for Aboriginal Employees by Gender

Percent Change in Aboriginal Employees									
	1987 Baseline	1988 %	1989 %	1990 %	1991 %	1992 %	1993 %	1994 %	1995 %
All	3862	13.0	13.8	8.5	9.8	3.0	<1.0>	9.1	4.6
Male	2232	17.8	10.7	5.3	6.6	0.9	<1.2>	9.6	5.7
Female	1630	6.4	18.5	13.0	14.0	5.7	--	8.5	3.4
% Female	42.2	<2.5>	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.1	0.5	< 0.2>	<0.6>

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).
< > denotes decrease.

The average yearly increase for male employees is 7.1%, and the average yearly increase for female employees is 9.4%. More Aboriginal females than males have been hired. In 1988 the proportion of female Aboriginal employees decreased because a large number of Aboriginal males (398) were hired that year over Aboriginal females (104).

5.2.3 Salaries

Traditionally, males in the workforce have earned more than women. Statistics Canada's, *Earnings of Men and Women, 1995 (1997b),* states that the average full-time male earns $40,610, whereas the average full-time female earns $29,700. The report also shows that the earnings gap between men and women decreased from the previous year by 169.8 in 1994 to 173.1 in 1995, which continues a trend that began in 1967 (1997b11).

Table 5.10 compares the full-time average salaries between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal EEW employees between 1987 and 1995. The non-Aboriginal workforce shows a gap between the wages earned by men and those earned by women. The wage gap was the widest in 1987, when women made approximately 70% of what men earned. The gap decreased progressively to 1995 when women made 75.5% of what men earned. Both non-Aboriginal men and women had wage increases for the period under review. Non-Aboriginal men's wages increased $14,123 or 40.5%; and non-Aboriginal women's wages increased $12,337 or 50%.

A wage gap is also evident in the wages earned by non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal males. The data reveal that non-Aboriginal males earn more than Aboriginal males. Although Aboriginal male's wages have increased $10,490 or 33.3%, they have not increased at the same rate as non-Aboriginal males' wages ($14,123 or 40.5%). In fact, the gap actually increased as the years progress. In 1987 Aboriginal male's salaries were 90.4% of non-Aboriginal males' but in 1995, Aboriginal males' salaries had fallen to 85.7% of non-Aboriginal males'.

An earnings gap also exists between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal females; however, it is not as pronounced as that between Non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal men. Although Aboriginal workers' wages have increased, their comparative salary has been reduced. Aboriginal females, like Aboriginal males, have seen their salaries decrease from 1987 to 1995 relative to those of non-Aboriginal females. From 1987 to 1995 Aboriginal females' salaries have increased by $9,869 or 43.4%. In the same period, non-Aboriginal females' salaries increased by $12,337 or 50%. In 1987 Aboriginal women made 92.2% of

Non-Aboriginal females' salaries but by 1995 this had fallen to 88.1%.

Table 5.10. Comparison of Full-Time Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Employee Salaries and Salary Gaps

	Employment Equity Workforce			EEW Aboriginal Workforce			
				Male		Female	
	Male	Female	% F to M Salary	Salary	% AM to NAM Salary*	Salary	% AF to NAF Salary**
Year							
1987	34,852	24,645	70.1	31,490	90.4	22,722	92.2
1988	36,186	25,741	71.1	32,516	89.9	23,574	91.6
1989	38,444	27,256	70.9	33,682	87.6	24,114	88.5
1990	40,540	29,444	72.6	34,991	86.3	25,840	87.8
1991	42,878	31,555	73.6	36,806	85.8	27,561	87.3
1992	44,792	33,137	74.0	38,706	86.4	29,393	88.7
1993	45,909	34,218	74.5	39,104	85.2	30,059	87.9
1994	47,927	35,851	74.8	41,005	85.6	31,457	87.7
1995	48,975	36,982	75.5	41,980	85.7	32,591	88.1

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

F=Female, M=Male, AM=Aboriginal Male, NAM=Non-Aboriginal Male, AF=Aboriginal Female, NAF=Non-Aboriginal Female.

* Ratio of salary for Aboriginal to Non-Aboriginal Male Employees in the Employment Equity Workforce.

** Ratio of salary for Aboriginal to Non-Aboriginal Female Employees in the Employment Equity Workforce.

The data show that Aboriginal employees earn less than non-Aboriginal employees. In 1987 non-Aboriginal males made $3,362 more than Aboriginal males and Non-aboriginal females made $1,923 more than Aboriginal females. In 1995 the wage differences between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal employees doubled. The 1995 figures show that non-Aboriginal males made $6,995 more than Aboriginal male and non-Aboriginal females made

$4,391 more than Aboriginal females.

The wider gap between earnings of non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal males can be explained by Aboriginal males being disportionately employed in lower-level occupations with lower salaries. It may also have to do with the seniority earned by each group.[8] Aboriginal employees may not have been with the companies as long as the non-aboriginal employees and may earn less as a result.

Table 5.11 compares full-time average Aboriginal female salaries with those of Aboriginal men and the EEW by gender from 1987 to 1995. This analysis uses the yearly income for Aboriginal women as a baseline. The data show that Aboriginal females' salaries are consistently lower than those of Aboriginal males and non-Aboriginal males and females. The salary increase earned by do not bring them into parity with non-Aboriginal females. The widest gap between Aboriginal males' salary and Aboriginal females' salary occurs in 1989 when Aboriginal males earned 40% more than Aboriginal females. Since 1987 the salary gap between Aboriginal males and females has decreased from 11.39 to 11.30. This may be due to the large numbers of Aboriginal women moving into middle and other managers, professionals, and supervisors' positions (generally higher paying jobs) and more Aboriginal males entering the clerical category (generally lower paying jobs).

Aboriginal females are closest in salary to non-Aboriginal females. Non-aboriginal females' salary ranges from 8 to 14 percentage points higher than Aboriginal females. This may be because non-aboriginal females are employed in higher status and higher paying jobs than Aboriginal females. In 1993 0.3% of 264,299 (or 792) non-Aboriginal females were employed in the upper-level manager category.

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[8] A more accurate measure would control for years of experience and seniority between the groups. This type of analysis was not possible with the available data.

Table 5.11. Ratio of Full-time Male Aboriginal Employees' Salary to that of Aboriginal Females, non-Aboriginal Males and non-Aboriginal Females[9]

	Aboriginal			Employment Equity Workforce			
	Female	Male		Female		Male	
Year	Base Salary	Salary	Ratio AF to AM	Salary	Ratio AF to NAF	Salary	Ratio AF to NAM
1987	22,722	31,490	11.39	24,645	11.08	34,852	1.53
1988	23,574	32,516	11.38	25,741	11.09	36,186	1.54
1989	24,114	33,682	11.40	27,256	11.13	38,444	1.59
1990	25,840	34,991	11.35	29,444	11.14	40,540	1.57
1991	27,561	36,806	11.34	31,555	11.15	42,878	1.56
1992	29,393	38,706	11.32	33,137	11.13	44,792	1.52
1993	30,059	39,104	11.29	34,218	11.14	45,909	1.53
1994	31,457	41,005	11.30	35,851	11.14	47,927	1.52
1995	32,591	41,980	11.29	36,982	11.14	48,975	1.50

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

This compares with only three of 2,800 Aboriginal females employed in this category. Not only are there more non-Aboriginal females, but they are employed in higher paying jobs. Aboriginal females are farthest in salary (widest male-female wage gap) from non-Aboriginal males. Non-Aboriginal males' salaries are on average consistently more than 50% higher than Aboriginal females'. When the wage gap between Aboriginal female and non-aboriginal male was at its greatest in 1989 (just before the recession), non-Aboriginal males earned 59% more than Aboriginal females. Again, as with the comparison between Aboriginal females and non-Aboriginal females, non-aboriginal males far outnumber Aboriginal females. In 1989 non-Aboriginal males represented 47.6% (300,242 individuals) of the Employment Equity labour force. Further, non-Aboriginal males occupied 88% of the highest occupational level, that is, upper-level manager. At the same time, Aboriginal females represented 0.3% (2,055 individuals) of the Employment Equity labour force. The largest representation of Aboriginal women in the Employment Equity labour force was in the clerical category where 67.2% of Aboriginal females worked.

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[9] Non-Aboriginal females means females who do not fit the visible minority and disabled categories.

5.2.4 Aboriginal Employee Hirings, Terminations, and Promotions

Table 5.12 indicates the percentage of permanent, full-time Aboriginal employee hirings, terminations, and representation in the EEW from 1987 to 1995. Hirings for Aboriginal employees tripled from 0.6% of all EEW hirings in 1987 to 1.8% in 1995, but a tiny increase. Aboriginal employee hirings exceeded terminations in eight of the nine years under review. However, in three of these years hirings exceeded terminations by only 0.1%.

Promotions of Aboriginal employees were slightly below their representation at the beginning of the program and were slightly above their representation in the EEW in the last two years. This indicates that Aboriginal employees are advancing through the ranks in their companies. However, there is no indication of whether these employees were initially under employed with their companies. If this is the case, then the promotions are perhaps moving them into positions commensurate with their education and job experience.

Table 5.12. Permanent Full-time Aboriginal Employee Hirings, Terminations, Promotions and EEW Representation

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Hiring	0.6	0.8	1.2	1.4	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8
Termination	0.5	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.7
Promotion	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.4
% of EEW	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

Table 5.13 shows the permanent full-time Aboriginal employee hirings, terminations,[10] and net change from 1987 to 1995. For the period under observation, 4, 523 males and 3,334 females were hired for a total of 7,857. The year with the largest number of hirings was 1989, when 1,138 Aboriginal employees were hired. Most male hirings occurred in 1989 when 662 males were hired. The largest number of female hirings occurred in 1990 when 500 females were hired.

The terminations section shows that for the period 1987 to 1995 there were 7,424 terminations of Aboriginal employees. The largest number of Aboriginal employee terminations occurred in 1990 when 998 Aboriginal employees were terminated. The largest number of male terminations occurred in 1990 when 611 males were terminated. The largest number of female terminations occurred in 1995 when 409 females were terminated. The overall net change in the male and female employee populations that occurred because of the hirings and terminations for the period 1987 to 1995 shows a gain of 185 male and 248 female employees for a total gain of 433 Aboriginal employees.

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[10] Terminations include terminations, layoffs, and voluntary departures.

Table 5.13. Permanent, Full-time Aboriginal Employee Hirings, Terminations and Net Change by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1987-1995 Total
Hirings										
Males	223	441	662	613	457	458	469	574	626	4,523
Females	192	289	476	500	401	377	356	387	356	3,334
Total	415	730	1138	1113	858	835	825	961	982	7,857
Terminations										
Males	214	381	588	611	468	459	497	525	595	4,338
Females	180	263	348	387	395	350	387	367	409	3,086
Total	394	644	936	998	863	809	884	892	1004	7,424
Net Change										
Males	9	60	74	2	<11>	<1>	<28>	49	31	185
Females	12	26	128	113	6	27	<31>	20	<53>	248
Total	21	86	202	115	<5>	26	<59>	69	<22>	433

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

< > denotes decrease .

The largest single gain occurred in 1989 (just before the recession) when 202 more Aboriginal employees were hired than terminated. The largest net loss occurred in 1993 when 59 more Aboriginal employees were terminated than were hired. The largest loss of female Aboriginal employees occurred in 1995 when 53 more were terminated than were hired. Male employee groups incurred losses in three of the nine years under observation. Male Aboriginal hirings were 36% higher than female, but terminations were also 41% higher. This indicates a greater turnover among Aboriginal males, which can be explained in many ways including accepting job offers from other companies or contract terminations.

Table 5.14 shows the percentage of permanent Aboriginal employee hirings, terminations, and net change based on gender. The hirings section reveals that the percentage of Aboriginal men increased from 54% in 1987 to 64% in 1995 for an overall representation of 57%. Conversely, Aboriginal women's hirings decreased from 46% in 1987 to 36% in 1995 for an overall representation of 43%.

From 1987 to 1995 there were 4,523 male hirings, which represents 57% of all Aboriginal hirings, while female Aboriginal employees accounted for 3,334 hirings or 43%. Male Aboriginals were hired more often, ranging from a low of 53% in 1991 to a high of 64% in 1995. The Aboriginal female hirings were consistently lower in the same period, with a low of 36% in 1995 to a high of 47% in 1993. Aboriginal male hirings increased by 180% and female hirings increased by 85% in 1995 over the 1987 figures.

There were 3,743 male terminations or 58% of the total Aboriginal terminations, whereas female Aboriginal employees accounted for 2,677 terminations, or 42%. Male Aboriginals were terminated more often, ranging from a low of 54% in 1987 and 1991 to a high of 63% in 1989. This may indicate dissatisfaction by the Aboriginal employee, perhaps with working conditions or pay rates, who voluntarily left the company to work elsewhere. Or the dissatisfaction may have been on the part of the employer who did not renew a contract, laid off or dismissed the employee.

The terminations for Aboriginal females were consistently lower than those for Aboriginal males' for all years except 1995 when the largest number of female employees (53) were terminated. This may indicate more job satisfaction on the part of female Aboriginal employees.

Table 5.14. Aboriginal Employee Hirings, Terminations, and Net Change by Gender

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Hirings									
Male %	54	60	58	55	53	55	57	60	64
Female %	46	40	42	45	47	45	43	40	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Terminations									
Male %	54	59	63	61	54	57	56	59	59
Female %	46	41	37	39	46	43	44	41	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Net Change									
Male	--	1	<5>	<6>	<1>	<2>	1	1	5
Female	--	<1>	5	6	1	2	<1>	<1>	<5>
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).
< > denotes decrease

The net changes in the male and female employee populations are modest because of the hirings and terminations from 1987 to 1995. Male employees incurred losses in four of the nine years under observation. Previous tables show that male Aboriginals are hired more often than Aboriginal females but also leave their jobs more often.

Table 5.15 shows permanent Aboriginal employee promotions by gender and percentage for the years 1987 to 1995. The data reveal 4,493 promotions to Aboriginal employees in the EEW. Of those, 2,222 promotions were given to males, or 49%. Female Aboriginal employees received 1,271 or 51%, of the promotions.

The data indicate a trend of promoting fewer Aboriginal females. In 1987 Aboriginal females were promoted slightly more often than Aboriginal males.

Table 5.15. Permanent, Full-time Aboriginal Employee Promotions in EEW by Gender and Year

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total 1987/ 1995
Gender	**Number of Promotions**									
Male	186	186	268	249	252	215	226	295	345	2,222
Female	219	230	268	275	290	196	207	269	317	2,271
Total	405	416	536	524	542	411	433	564	662	4,493
	Percentage of all Aboriginal Promotions									
Male	47	45	50	48	47	52	52	52	52	49
Female	53	55	50	52	53	48	48	48	48	51
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

However, this trend changes in 1992 as more males are promoted than females, and this trend continues throughout the remainder of the period of analysis.

5.2.4.1 Male Aboriginal Employees in the Employment Equity Workforce

The tables in this section focus on changes to male Aboriginal employees in the four industrial sectors from 1987 to 1995. Male Aboriginal employees' numbers are reviewed to determine whether they have advanced their employment position within LEEP.

Table 5.16 shows the total male Aboriginal employees (EEW) by industrial sector and year from 1987 to 1995. The increases in male Aboriginal employees ranged from 268% in banking; 223% in others; 84% in communications to 21% in transportation.

Banking showed the greatest percentage increase because it had the fewest male Aboriginal employees when the program began in 1987. Numerical increases show the communication sector has hired the most Aboriginal males with 463, followed by others with 389, transportation with 266, and banking with 190 individuals.

Table 5.16. Male Aboriginal Employees (EEW) by Industrial Sector

Male Aboriginal Employees (EEW)									
	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Banking	117	128	170	199	231	250	278	307	330
Transportation	1,250	1,514	1,565	1,573	1,649	1,573	1,572	1,516	1,456
Communication	550	564	745	818	858	925	891	1,013	1,102
Others	315	424	431	474	527	545	489	704	855
Total	2,232	2,630	2,911	3,064	3,265	3,293	3,230	3,540	3,743

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

Table 5.17 shows the change for male Aboriginal employees (EEW) by industrial sector and year from 1987 to 1995. The 1987 figures show the largest number of Aboriginal males employed in the transportation sector (1,250), followed by communications (505), others (315), and banking (117). The largest single increase of male Aboriginal employees occurred in 1988 in the transportation sector with an increase of 264 employees. However, the transportation sector also incurred the largest number of losses both in number (193 Aboriginal employees) and frequency (losses in 4 of the 9 years under review). The banking industry was the only sector to increase its male Aboriginal employees every year during the study period. However, Table 5.12 indicates that the banking industry has the lowest increase in male Aboriginal employees (213) of all the sectors in this analysis.

Table 5.17. Change in Male Aboriginal Employment (EEW) by Industrial Sector, 1987-1995

Male Aboriginal Employees (EEW) Net Change Over Previous Year									
Industrial Sector	**1987 Base**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	117	11	42	29	32	19	28	29	23
Transportation	1,250	264	51	8	76	<76>	<1>	<56>	<60>
Communication	550	14	181	73	40	67	<34>	122	89
Others	315	109	7	43	53	18	<56>	215	151
Total	2,232	398	281	153	201	28	<63>	310	203

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Reports, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

< > denotes decrease.

The largest decrease in male Aboriginal employees (63) occurred in 1993, affecting three of the four sectors. The following year, 1994, two of the three sectors that recorded decreases the previous year had increased their male Aboriginal workforce, except the transportation sector, which recorded another decrease. The transportation sector lost 60 employees in 1995, which continues a four-year trend in that industry.

Table 5.18 shows the net change over the previous year for male Aboriginal employees in the EEW by occupational sector from 1987 to 1995. The largest single increase in male Aboriginal employees occurred in the others category in 1994, which recorded an increase of 44.0% over the previous year.

The largest single decrease in male Aboriginal employees occurred in the others category in 1993, with a decrease of 10.3% over the previous year. By totalling the yearly net change and dividing by the number of years (9), the data show that the banking sector recorded a 12.5% yearly average increase in its male Aboriginal workforce, whereas the

Table 5.18. Net Percentage Change Over Previous Year for Male Aboriginal Employees (EEW) by Industrial Sector

Net Percentage Change Over Previous Year									
Industrial Sector	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	117	9.4	32.8	17.0	16.1	8.2	11.2	10.4	7.5
Transportation	1,250	21.1	3.4	.5	4.8	<4.6>	--	<3.6>	<4.0>
Communication	550	2.5	32.1	9.8	4.9	7.8	<3.7>	13.7	8.8
Others	315	34.6	1.7	10.0	11.2	3.4	<10.3>	44.0	21.4

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Reports, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

< > denotes decrease.

transportation sector showed a yearly average increase of 2.0%; the communications sector showed an 8.4% annual yearly increase, and the others category annual increase was 12.9%. The others category increased its male Aboriginal employee population by approximately 44% in one year. However, the decreases have not been as great; the largest was 10.3%, approximately one quarter of the largest gain. This indicates that Aboriginals are gaining in the EEW.

Table 5.19 shows the percentage of Aboriginal males in the workforce by industrial sector from 1987 to 1995. Overall, male Aboriginal employees decreased in representation. Male Aboriginal employees began representing 57.8% in 1987 of the workforce and decreased to 54.3% in 1995.

Male Aboriginal employees increased from 12.4% of the Aboriginal workforce in banking in 1987 to 18.2% in 1995 in the banking sector. Aboriginal males representation in the communications sector remain constant.

Table 5.19. Representation of Male Aboriginals in the EEW by Industrial Sector

Percentage Which Males Comprise of the Aboriginal Workforce									
Industrial Sector	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	12.4	13.3	15.0	15.5	15.5	16.0	17.4	17.5	18.2
Transportation	85.6	85.0	83.0	82.8	82.2	81.7	80.3	80.9	80.4
Communication	51.2	51.6	53.4	52.7	51.7	50.4	50.2	51.4	52.1
Others	82.7	80.5	78.2	72.3	69.7	70.4	69.9	72.3	74.5
Overall	57.8	60.3	58.6	56.9	55.2	54.1	53.6	53.8	54.3

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Reports, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

Decreases in representation were present in both the transportation and others sectors. The data reveals continued occupational segregation by gender. For example, males dominate the transportation and others. Role convergence is occurring in the transportation, banking, and others categories. The transportation industry has been traditionally viewed as a male domain, but the data show increases in female employees. This may be due to larger numbers of women entering the workforce in nontraditional occupations such as truck driving. Conversely, the gender-stratified banking sector is primarily a female domain -- especially at the lower echelons. However, the data indicate that Aboriginal males have increased their representation in banking from 12.4% in 1987 to 18.2% in 1995.

5.2.4.2 Female Aboriginal Employees in the EEW

The tables in this section focus on changes to female Aboriginal employment in the four industrial sectors. Numbers of female Aboriginal employees are reviewed to determine whether they have advanced their employment position within the LEEP companies.

Table 5.20. Female Aboriginal Employees (EEW) by Industrial Sector and Year

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Industrial Sector	**Number of Aboriginal Employees (EEW)**								
Banking	828	835	963	1,082	1,262	1,309	1,318	1,449	1,481
Transportation	211	267	321	326	356	352	386	359	354
Communication	525	529	651	733	802	909	885	959	1,012
Others	66	103	120	182	229	226	211	270	292
Total	1,630	1,734	2,055	2,323	2,649	2,796	2,800	3,037	3,139

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

Table 5.20 shows the female Aboriginal employees EEW by industrial sector. Increases in female Aboriginal employees ranged from 342% in the others sector, 92.8% in communications, 78.8% in banking and 67.7% in transportation. When numerical increases shows that the banking sectors hired the most Aboriginal females with 653, followed by communications with 487, others with 226, and transportation with 143 individuals.

Table 5.21 shows the change for female Aboriginal employees in the EEW by occupational sector from 1987 to 1995. The 1987 baseline shows the largest number of Aboriginal females employed in the banking sector (828), followed by communications (525), transportation (211), and the others (66) sectors.

The largest single increase of female Aboriginal employees occurred in 1994 in the banking sector (180 employees). The transportation sector incurred the largest single decrease in 1994 when 27 female Aboriginal employees were terminated.

Table 5.21. Change in Female Aboriginal Employment (EEW) by Industrial Sector

Aboriginal Employees (EEW) Net Change Over Previous Year									
Industrial Sector	**1987 Base**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	828	7	128	119	180	47	9	131	32
Transportation	211	56	54	5	30	<4>	34	<27>	<5>
Communication	525	4	122	82	69	107	<4>	74	53
Others	66	37	17	62	47	<3>	<15>	59	22
Column Totals	1,630	104	321	268	326	147	4	237	102

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

The banking industry was the only sector not to reduce its number of female employees during the study period. The largest single increase in female Aboriginal employees occurred in the banking sector category in 1989 when an increase of 180 individuals was recorded over the previous year. The largest single decrease in female Aboriginal employees occurred in the transportation category, with a decrease of 27 employees over the previous year. The largest single year of increase in female Aboriginal employees occurred in 1989 (just before the recession) when the Aboriginal workforce increased by 331 females. In 1993 the EEW gained only four Aboriginal employees.

Table 5.22 shows the net percentage change over the previous year for female Aboriginal employees in the EEW by occupational sector from 1987 to 1995. The 1987 figures are used as a baseline for subsequent years.

The largest single increase in female Aboriginal employees occurred in the others category in 1988 (before the recession) with an increase of 56.0% over the previous year.

Table 5.22. Percentage Change Over Previous Year for Female Aboriginal Employees (EEW) by Industrial Sector

Net Change Over Previous Year (Percentage)									
Industrial Sector	**1987 Base**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	828	0.8	15.3	12.4	16.6	3.7	0.7	9.9	2.2
Transportation	211	26.5	20.2	1.6	9.2	<1.1>	9.7	<7.0>	<1.4>
Communication	525	0.8	23.6	12.5	9.4	13.3	<2.7>	8.3	5.5
Others	66	56.0	16.5	51.6	25.8	<1.4>	<6.7>	27.9	8.1

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

The largest single decrease in female Aboriginal employees occurred in the transportation category in 1994 when a 7.0% decrease over the previous year was recorded. By totalling the yearly net change and dividing by the number of years (9), the banking sector recorded a 6.8% yearly average increase in its female Aboriginal workforce, and the transportation sector showed a yearly average increase of 6.4%, the communications sector showed a 7.9% annual yearly increase, and the others sector annual increase was 19.8%. Increases in this category have been substantial. For example, the others category increased its female Aboriginal population by 56% in one year, and the decreases have not been substantial. The largest decrease recorded was 7.0% in the transportation sector in 1994. This indicates that Aboriginal female employees are gaining in the EEW.

Table 5.23 shows the percentage of Aboriginal females by industrial sector from 1987 to 1995. Overall, Aboriginal female employees increased their representation for the period under review.

Table 5.23. Percentage of Women in Aboriginal Workforce (EEW) by Industrial Sector

Percentage Which Women Comprise of the Aboriginal Workforce									
Industrial Sector	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Banking	87.6	86.7	85.0	84.5	84.5	84.0	82.6	82.5	81.8
Transportation	14.4	15.0	17.0	17.2	17.8	18.3	19.7	19.1	19.6
Communication	48.8	48.4	46.6	47.3	48.3	49.6	49.8	49.1	47.9
Others	17.3	19.5	21.8	27.7	30.3	29.6	30.1	27.7	25.5
Overall	42.2	39.7	41.4	43.1	44.8	45.9	46.4	46.2	45.7

Source Minister of Supply and Services, Employment Equity Act Annual Report, 1987 (Cat. No. MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No. MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996).

In 1987 female Aboriginal employees represented 42.2% of the Aboriginal EEW, and this representation increased by 4.0 % to 45.7% in 1995.

Female Aboriginal employees as a percentage of all Aboriginal employees in the industry decreased by 6.0 percentage points in banking and 1.0 percentage points in communications. There were increases in the transportation sector (5.0%) and the others sectors (8.0%). The data confirm continued industrial sector segregation by gender. For example, females predominate in the banking industry. The only sector that does not show strong gender dominance is the communications sector, which shows nearly equal representation between males and females. As mentioned earlier, role convergence may be occurring in the transportation and banking sectors. The transportation industry can be seen as a male domain, nevertheless, the number of female employees has increased. The inverse is evident in the banking industry, which is viewed as a primarily female domain; however, male Aboriginal employees are increasing their representation, albeit slowly.

In summary, Aboriginal women have gained representation in all industrial sectors. They achieved this gain by having fewer terminations than hirings for the period under review, fewer than Aboriginal men. They have also obtained slightly more promotions (51%) than Aboriginal men. Aboriginal women make up only 45% of the Aboriginal EEW, which means they are earning more promotions than Aboriginal males.

5.3 Summary

The period under review, 1987 to 1995, is relatively short. However, it does cover the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports in their entirety. One might ask if change can be expected in such a short time. I say Yes. The Employment Equity Act's focus is to increase the representation of the designated groups in the Employment Equity workforce, and the companies covered by the LEEP are obliged to fulfil their commitment.

Generally, the data show that the designated groups have increased their representation in the EEW. From 1987 to 1995, the total designated group workforce increased by 16%, from 49% in 1987 to 57% in 1995. The EEW showed a small increase of 1.3% in its workforce, but the CLF increased by 8.0%. The reason may be the downsizing phenomenon experiencing by larger companies during this period.

Women showed the greatest increase in representation of the designated groups, with an increase of 19,643 employees. Although women have the largest representation in the total designated group workforce, their representation has decreased over the years. In 1987 women represented 83.4% of the total designated group workforce, but in 1995 their representation had decreased to 77.5%. This means that the other designated groups (Aboriginals, the disabled, and visible minorities) have increased their representation.

Women's representation in the EEW reached parity with that of the CLF in 1995 44.5% of the EEW and 44.0% in the CLF. By 1995 visible minorities were over represented in the EEW at 8.8%, but 6.3% in the CLF. Both Aboriginals and the disabled are under represented in the EEW 1.2% of the EEW but 2.1% in the CLF. In addition, the disabled people's representation in the EEW is half their representation in the CLF. Clearly the Legislated Employment Equity Program is benefiting Aboriginals and disabled people the least.

One objective of the Employment Equity Act is to distribute designated group members throughout the workplace hierarchy. Although some movement has been made to achieve this goal, the data show gender and designated group ghettos in the workplace. Clerical positions represent 63.4% of women's jobs, and the preponderance of women employed in this category explains the difference in the average salaries of men and women.

Women have moved into the middle and other managers category in increased numbers. In fact, this represents the largest change in women's employment from 1987 to 1995. Such positions carry increased authority (although limited because middle management takes its direction from upper management) and larger salaries. The data show that women are rising in the workplace hierarchy, but are not evenly distributed throughout the workplace hierarchy.

Aboriginal people have advanced in the EEW. Proportionally speaking, Aboriginals increased their representation the most of the designated groups with an increase of 3,020 employees or 78%. In 1987 Aboriginals' representation rose from 1.3% of the total designated group workforce in 1987 to 2.0% in 1995.

In 1995 Aboriginals' representation in the EEW was below its representation in the CLF 1.2% of the EEW and 2.1% of the CLF. Aboriginals are under represented in LEEP companies.

The Employment Equity Act's objective of distributing designated group members throughout the organizational hierarchy has not yet been fulfilled, although some efforts have been made to achieve this goal. Again, the data for Aboriginal employees reveal gender and racial enclaves in the workplace. Aboriginal women are over represented in the clerical occupational level at 67.2% the fact that so many Aboriginal women are employed in clerical jobs, which carry low pay and little authority or autonomy, may explain why they have lower wages than non-aboriginal men and women and Aboriginal men.

Aboriginal women have been moving into the middle and other managers category in increased numbers. In fact, movement into this category is the largest change in Aboriginal women's employment from 1987 to 1995. A larger percentage of Aboriginal men and women are represented in the clerical category than any other group covered under the Employment Equity Act. Aboriginals continue to be employed in these low-paying, low-authority, low-status occupations at greater rates than other designated group members.

This is interesting because large numbers of Aboriginal people have gained postsecondary credentials, particularly Aboriginal women. Increased educational achievement is not reflected in the data provided in the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports. The trend toward new Aboriginal recruits to the EEW being channelled into clerical positions suggests that Aboriginal workers may be under employed. The phenomenon holds true for both Aboriginal males and females. They may be in situations where they have a higher educational qualification than their non-aboriginal co-workers. This hypothesis is examined in a later chapter.

Visible minorities have advanced a great deal from the EEW. Their representation increased from 34,970 in 1987 to 51,930 in 1995 for an overall increase of 16,960. In 1995 the representation of the designated groups in the CLF shows that visible minorities' representation in the EEW was above their representation in the CLF 8.8% of the EEW and 6.3% in the CLF. Visible minorities are over represented in LEEP companies.

The representation of visible minorities in the EEW has changed over the period under review. Decreases in representation were experienced by visible minority men in the two highest occupational groups (upper-level managers and middle and other managers). Again, like women in the two previous categories, visible minority women have increased their representation in the middle and other managers category. However, they are also over represented in the clerical category with 67.9% of visible minority women working in this sector.

In 1995 the representation of the designated groups in the CLF shows that disabled persons' representation in the EEW was below their representation in the CLF 2.7% in the EEW and 5.4% in the CLF. And, again, the data for disabled employees show gender and racial enclaves in the workplace. Disabled women are over represented in the clerical occupational level at 69.7%.

The data show a trend of over representation of women in the EEW, but also an increase in the representation of men in clerical jobs. The data also show increases of all designated group women into middle management, where they are also more vulnerable to down-sizing. Middle management positions give more, although limited, authority to women and are accompanied by increased earnings.

Aboriginal employees have increased substantially from 1987 to 1995. The data show increases of 78.2 % in Aboriginal employees with LEEP companies. The percentage increase is higher for Aboriginal females (94%) than males (68%), which may be because of higher educational rates for Aboriginal women than men. In addition, many Aboriginal women are single parents, which increases their motivation to seek employment to support their families.

Aboriginal employees increased their representation in all industrial sectors, but the gender composition of the Aboriginal workforce is changing in those sectors. For example, the banking sector showed an overall increase in the number of Aboriginal employees, but a decrease in female Aboriginal employees' proportionate representation in the workforce. In 1987 Aboriginal women made up 87.6% of the Aboriginal banking workforce but this had decreased to 81.8% in 1995.

Both transportation and others sectors show increases in the Aboriginal workforce and an increase in Aboriginal women's representation in their workforces. This may be because Aboriginal women are seeking employment in non traditional occupations, such as truck driving which offer higher salaries than clerical work. The higher salaries are helpful to Aboriginal females who are single parents.

The data show that Aboriginal men earned higher incomes than Aboriginal women. For the period under review Aboriginal males earned approximately $9,000 more than Aboriginal females. This can be explained by the types of work that Aboriginal men do compared with women. In 1995 representation of Aboriginal males in the highest occupational category was four times higher than that of Aboriginal women (Aboriginal men 0.4%; Aboriginal women 0.1). However, this wage gap can also be explained by the large number of Aboriginal women (67.2%) in the clerical category.

Increases in the representation of Aboriginal employees in the EEW have been achieved in part by the increased hiring of Aboriginals, which have occurred at a rate higher than their representation in the workforce. For example, in 1995 Aboriginal employees represented 1.2% of the EEW and 1.8% of the hirings. However, Aboriginal employees also high rate of terminations, which have been consistently higher than their representation in the EEW. The net increase in employee populations incurred from hirings over terminations is 433 employees.

Aboriginal employee promotions (0.6% of all promotions) were below their EEW representation (0.7% of EEW) in 1987 but increased to a rate higher than their EEW representation in 1995 (1.2 % of EEW and 1.4% of all promotions). Aboriginal women received 51% of the promotions.

For the period under review Aboriginal males were hired more often than Aboriginal females. Aboriginal males were 58% of the hirings while Aboriginal females were 42%. However, Aboriginal males (58.4%) were also terminated more often than Aboriginal females. The terminations were initiated by either the employer (dismissals, layoffs, nonrenewal of contracts) or employee initiated (resignation, accepting other employment). Terminations are sometimes the result of a bad fit between employer and employee. The job may not be what the employee expected and he or she opts for other employment if given the opportunity. Employees may in any case leave the organizations for better paying jobs elsewhere.

Both Aboriginal males and Aboriginal females earned less than nondesignated workforce males and women. Aboriginal males' salaries ranged from a low of 85.2% of nondesignated males' salary to a high of 90.4%. The data show that Aboriginal males' salaries are decreasing in proportion to those of nondesignated males. Although salaries of both are increasing, nondesignated males' salaries are increasing at a higher rate. The same is true for Aboriginal females. Their salaries are proportionally lower than women's (nondisabled and nonvisible minority women) salaries. Like Aboriginal males, Aboriginal women have witnessed an widening gap between their salaries and those of non-Aboriginal women.

The data indicate a slight increase in the number of Aboriginal people employed with LEEP companies. The increase in the approximately 370 federally regulated companies is not as great as the absolute increases of the other designated groups. The data show that Aboriginal people have benefited from the program but not to the same degree as others both in numbers and in representation. Increased efforts must be make to increase Aboriginal employees representation either in or throughout the workplace hierarchy.

There is evidence of both human capital theory and the internal labour market in the employment situation of Aboriginal employees in the EEW. Variables inherent in human capital show us that some Aboriginal people have the ability to obtain good jobs in the EEW. These individuals may have the educational credential and work-related experience to allow them to hold these positions. I explore this assumption more fully in a later chapter. The internal labour market also appears to be present. Aboriginal employees are promoted in the EEW at a rate commensurate with their representation.

This chapter locates Aboriginal employees within the approximately 370 federally regulated companies included under the Legislated Employment Equity Program. It addresses the overall aggregate employment trends for full-time Aboriginal employees. The next chapter moves away from the aggregate trends and looks specifically at employers who have Aboriginal or Employment Equity programs. The case studies enable me to focus on specific programs and policies not included in the Human Resource Development Canada reports.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY ANALYSES

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the four organizations: Syncrude Canada, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Telus Corporation (formerly Alberta Government Telephones), and the University of Alberta. Three of the four case studies[1] represent a diverse group of employers from industrial sectors represented in the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) or the Federal Contractors Program.[2] The organizations that fall under the Employment Equity Act represent the telecommunications, finance, and education sectors.

All organizations fall within the parameters of the LEEP and the FCP except Syncrude Canada. The Employment Equity Act requires federally regulated companies with more than 100 employees or non-federally regulated organizations (e.g. provincially regulated organizations like universities) who receive a single contract with the federal government worth more than $200,000 annually and who have more than 100 employees to comply with program guidelines (see Appendix D).

Although the Syncrude program falls outside the Employment Equity Act, I included it because it is regarded by the business community as one of the most successful Aboriginal employment programs in Canada (Syncrude, 1994). Syncrude's Aboriginal Development

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[1] Syncrude Canada is the exception.

[2] under the Employment Equity Act. Syncrude does not file a voluntary Annual Employer's Report to the Employment Equity Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada as do some other nonregulated companies.

Program was mentioned by many people in the business sector whom I contacted for suggestions about companies to include in this study. Syncrude is also recognized as the largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people in Canada (Syncrude, 1980, 1994, 1996a; Slavik, 1979; Rehaume, 1994).

The companies I chose are similar in some aspects but different in others. One similarity is that they all have an employment equity-like program. They are all large bureaucracies operating in what Krahn and Lowe (1993) call core sector firms. Differences include the age of the institution, workforce size, geographic area of concentration, private vs public sector companies, and mandatory versus voluntary involvement with Employment Equity legislation. Information for these case studies was gathered through a combination of interviews with employers, questionnaires, organization literature, and published media articles.

6.0.1 Case Studies

The case studies corporate data and the specifics of the organization's Employment Equity or Aboriginal employment program. Initiatives taken to support Aboriginal or Employment Equity programs include: organization policies and practices used to support Aboriginal employees; measures taken to increase Aboriginal employment prospects with the organization; measures of success; and proposed changes or improvements to existing policies and procedures.

I also analyze how the programs developed and the initiatives that shaped those programs. Programs are rarely created in a vacuum, so the reasons for the program's implementation are also examined. Questions answered in this chapter include: Was the company's Employment Equity or Aboriginal employment program initiated internally or externally? If so, by whom? Was it market-driven? Was the program motivated by economic necessity? Did economic necessity and a need to keep up with the competition cause some companies to access a previously untapped resource or market? Was it initiated to better manage the organization's personnel?

Each organization is successful and respected in its field. The University of Alberta is an internationally recognized institution and one of Canada's five largest research-intensive universities (University of Alberta, 1997a). Syncrude is the world's largest producer of light, sweet crude oil from oil sands and the largest single producer of oil in Canada (Syncrude, 1996a). The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce is a highly diversified financial services organization operating on a global basis and one of North America's largest financial institutions (CIBC: 1996:1). Telus Corporation reports itself as the third largest telecommunications and information management services organization in Canada (Telus, 1995:1).

The companies vary in geographic location. Although each organization's area of concentration is national or international in scope, Alberta is the geographic area of concentration for three of the organizations. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce has an international scope and has branches in every province and territory in Canada. Syncrude has a more local focus, located in Fort McMurray with a research centre in Edmonton. The University of Alberta is located in Edmonton and is one of the northernmost universities in Canada. Telus Corporation is a provincial organization with employees throughout the province, but concentrated in Edmonton and Calgary.[3]

The size of each organization's workforce varies greatly. CIBC the largest workforce with more than 33,000 employees, while Syncrude has the smallest workforce with approximately 3,600 employees. The University of Alberta has 5,136 employees, 2,310 academic and 2,826 and nonacademic staff (University of Alberta, 1997). According to AGT's 1995 Employment Equity Annual Report, it has 7,858 employees located primarily in Alberta (plus 58 employees in Ontario).

The oldest of the organizations is Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce; the youngest is Syncrude. The University of Alberta was established in 1908, making it 89 years old at the time of this study. Telus Corporation began in 1906 as AGT, making it 91 years old at the time of this study. Syncrude was incorporated in 1964 and began operation of the Mildred Lake pilot plant in January 1965. This makes Syncrude 33 years old at the time of this study (Syncrude, 1994). CIBC was incorporated in 1867, making it 130 years old at the time of this study (CIBC: 1996a).

The histories of the organizations' Employment Equity or Aboriginal Development Programs vary. The oldest program belongs to Syncrude, which began in 1974 as The Syncrude Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program. The University of Alberta began its Employment Equity policy commitment in 1987, but did not have a policy in place until January 1994. Telus Corporation began its commitment to Employment Equity in 1991 when it signed an agreement with the Federal government under the LEEP. The

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[3] The AGT 1995 Employment Equity Report states that 3,009 employees live in Calgary and 3,089 in Edmonton. The remaining 1,707 employees are located throughout the province.

Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce began its Employment Equity program in 1987 to comply with the LEEP (Canadian Bankers Association, 1994).

It is not my intent to compare one organization's program with those of the others, which would in any case would be difficult because of the vast differences in organization size, the program's age, and the degree of program development. However, employees' experiences within these companies and the variations in these experiences due to organizational characteristics must be examined. The factors and institutional barriers inherent in the companies that perhaps inadvertently undermine both the organization's Employment Equity initiatives and Aboriginal employees' aspirations are also scrutinized.

This research endeavours to describe and assess the initiatives of each program according to Mason's (1993) four evaluation criteria to measure the success or failure of Employment Equity practices: barrier elimination, job accommodation, positive measures, and supportive measures.

Examination of the case studies advances my research agenda by showing which Employment Equity practices are effective in increasing the representation of Aboriginal employees under the numbers-driven mandate of the Employment Equity Act.

A summary is presented at the end of each case study, and a detailed, comparative analysis between the case studies is given at the end of the chapter. I then analyse the organizations using the theoretical framework described in Chapter 3.

SYNCRUDE CANADA

6.1.0 Introduction

Syncrude Canada Ltd. operates an oil sands mining and upgrading plant at Mildred Lake, approximately 40 kilometres north of Fort McMurray, Alberta. Syncrude operates the largest mining operation in Canada, covering 40,000 hectares (including mine leases, extraction, utilities, and upgrading facilities). Organization literature states that it produces more than 200,000 barrels per day, which constitutes more than 67 million barrels of crude oil per year. This accounts for about 12% of Canada's total petroleum needs (Syncrude, 1994).

6.1.1 Corporate Profile

Syncrude was incorporated in 1964, and site construction began in 1974. Full-scale operations began in 1978 (Syncrude, 1994). Syncrude is a joint venture owned by Alberta Energy Organization Ltd., AEC Oil Sands Ltd., Gulf Canada Resources, Imperial Oil Resources Ltd., Mocal Energy Ltd., Murphy Oil Organization Ltd., Pan Canadian Gas Products Ltd., Petro-Canada, Athabasca Oil Sands Investment Inc., and Canadian Occidental Petroleum Ltd. (Syncrude, 1996b).

The Mildred Lake oil sands site consists of four operations: mining, extraction, upgrading, and utilities industries (Syncrude, 1996a). The mining operation is the world's largest, producing 73.9 million barrels of Syncrude Sweet Blend (SSB) in 1995.

The organization recently received approval for the Aurora Mine Development 35 kilometres northeast of Syncrude's Mildred Lake plant. The Aurora mine is expected to open in 2001 and provide permanent jobs for 300 workers (Syncrude, 1996d).

6.1.2 Corporate Structure

Syncrude has a hierarchical, bureaucratic structure. The Board of Directors representing the various owners includes: a Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer; Chief Operating Officer and Vice President, Operations; Chief Financial Officer and Vice President, Business and Corporate Affairs; Vice President, Human Resources and Technology Development; Comptroller; Treasurer; and Corporate Secretary.

Syncrude's Mission Statement (1996c) states:

> Our sole mission is to maximize our owners' profits through the reliable production of economically competitive synthetic crude oil and other substances from the oil sands on Syncrude's leases.

6.1.3 Background

The Aboriginal employment initiative created by Syncrude may have arisen out of a mixture of necessity (the need for a large workforce in a relatively isolated, rural area), its obligation to be seen as a responsible corporate citizen, and political pressure from Aboriginal political groups. Reports conflict about whether the Aboriginal Employment initiatives were voluntary or involuntary. Syncrude president Eric Newell states that Aboriginal employment initiatives were required to obtain an operating license (Rehaume, 1994). However, in a consultant's report, Syncrude was cited as developing the Native Employment program as an "entirely voluntary undertaking" (Slavik, 1979, p.4). A large labour force was essential in the site construction stage. During the clearing and construction phase (1974-1978), Aboriginal people held an average of 550 construction jobs on the site with peak employment totalling 800[4] (Syncrude, 1994). Local Aboriginals filled many labour positions.

One of the operating conditions under which approval was given to develop the oil sands by the provincial government was that Syncrude employ Aboriginal people, particularly those from the area (Syncrude, 1994). In a recent interview, current president, Eric Newell said:

> Syncrude's situation is similar to that of other resource companies. Our resources are on land that abuts[5] traditional Native hunting grounds. From the beginning, in fact, in order to get the permit to build on the property -- Syncrude was required to provide opportunities so local Native residents could share equally with others in the benefits of oil sands development. Syncrude is a socially responsible organization and always has been, so we took our obligations seriously .(Rehaume, 1994, p.6)

Political pressure was applied by Alberta Aboriginal organizations to gain employment for Aboriginal people at Syncrude. Local Aboriginals were unhappy about their inability to obtain employment at Syncrude while the organization was actively recruiting employees from across Canada and overseas (Interview with representative from the Indian Association of Alberta, 1997). The most notable challenge was from the Indian Association of Alberta, which demanded that Alberta Aboriginals benefit from the resource development.[6] This situation is described in detail below.

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[4] Aboriginal employees working in Syncrude's construction phase were employed by Canadian Bechtel Ltd and not Syncrude.

[5] Mr. Newell states in this interview that resources are on land that abuts traditional Native hunting grounds, but in my estimation many times the natural resource are actually on traditional Native hunting grounds.

[6] The Indian Association is a political organization formed in 1939 that represents the Status Indians of Alberta.

6.1.3 Programs

Syncrude's commitment to Native employment has been in existence for more than 20 years. The programs and initiatives have been evolutionary in nature. I briefly describe past initiatives that, at least in part, are responsible for Syncrude's present Aboriginal Development Program and the state of Aboriginal employment in the organization. Syncrude's initiatives have been categorized into Pre-Program Initiatives and Aboriginal Employment Program Initiatives.

6.1.3.1 Pre-Program Initiatives

Preliminary initiatives were needed before the bona fide Native program could begin. The first step toward a Native Employment Program was the Northeastern Alberta Manpower Programs Development Committee, which was established in 1973 with the primary goal of ensuring that residents of northeastern Alberta were given employment opportunities in resource development (Syncrude, 1997a). Committee members included representatives from the federal and provincial government, labour, industry, the Metis Association of Alberta and the Indian Association of Alberta. This committee created *The Employment of Residents in Northeastern Alberta* policy that reads as follows:

1. Syncrude will provide employment opportunities to residents in northeastern Alberta,[7] which includes all Census Division 12.

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[7] This program was not set up specifically for Aboriginal people but for all residents of northeastern Alberta. However a large portion of the residents in this area at the time were Aboriginal. The 1971 Census of Canada's Ethnic Populations data show that Aboriginal people were the fourth largest group in Alberta's Census Division 12. The largest group was British Isles (16,110); French (10,090); Ukrainian (9550); and Native (8,425). The total population for the census division is 56,645. Aboriginal people are approximately 15% of the population (Statistics Canada, 1971 Catalogue Number 92-723).

2. Syncrude will either (a) provide the skill training necessary, or (b) see that such skill training is provided by outside agencies, so that the residents of northeastern Alberta, especially including its native people, may qualify to obtain employment with Syncrude.

3. Syncrude affirms the position that there is a need for an industry wide effort to provide jobs to residents of northeastern Alberta, in the service and manufacturing industries, as well as in the oil sands. In support of these policy objectives, Syncrude is guided by several operating principles which include the following:

    1. It is the policy of Syncrude to treat employees and applicants for employment on the basis of their qualifications without reference to race, creed, colour, or national origin.

    2. Syncrude will ensure that residents of northeastern Alberta will be kept informed (a) of job openings and requirements and (b) availability of training services to qualify people for these jobs; through direct information to the local communities and through provincial and federal agencies.

    3. To assist local residents to become integrated into the job setting and local community, assistance will be provided of a counselling information and communication nature on an in-service or on-going basis. (Archival Files for the Native Development Program dated May 1, 1975)

With the policy completed a subcommittee was established to deal with implementation issues, which became the mandate of the Northeastern Alberta Manpower Programs Implementation Committee (Syncrude, 1997b). This committee's task was to develop training programs or work-related initiatives in the Fort McMurray district. Howard (1995) who wrote her master's thesis on Syncrude's Native Development Program, describes the programs as organized to ensure that "optimum development of the personnel required for the development of the oil sand will become a reality" (p. 51). Again, emphasis was placed on providing employment for residents of northeastern Alberta. This was to be achieved by:

> 1. A conscious effort to stress quality rather than quantity in native hiring and
>
> 2. Realistic attempts to encourage and equip individual natives and entire communities to benefit from the massive resource development taking place on their doorstep. (Syncrude, 1980, pp. 1-2).

These initiatives, along with the development of a Public Affairs-Community Relations department at Syncrude, paved the way for subsequent Native development programs. With the groundwork completed and policies in place, Syncrude could begin to implement its Aboriginal Employment Program initiatives.

6.1.3.2 Aboriginal Employment Program Initiatives

Since 1974 Syncrude has undertaken many Native Employment-type programs, which have evolved and undergone many variations. The following is a brief, nonexhaustive overview of some notable programs.

6.1.3.2.1The Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program.

The first program to deal with Native employment at Syncrude was the Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program in 1974. It was headed by a Metis man, Herb Callihoe, from 1974 to 1978, who, after his arrival, began research into Native employment programs operated by other companies in the United States and Canada (Syncrude, 1994).

The Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program addressed issues of housing, relocation, recruitment policies, educational requirement for job entry, target goals for Aboriginal employment, cultural awareness courses for supervisors, and support and counselling for Aboriginal families (Syncrude, 1997a). The program's mandate -- the employment of Aboriginal people -- had the support of Syncrude's first president, Frank Spragins, and in theory, has been publicly supported by all subsequent presidents.

According to Syncrude sources, the Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program had two objectives. The first dealt mainly with recruitment and employment and aimed to "maximize opportunities for native employment and to steadily increase the number of native employees in the organization" (p. 3). The second was to create business and contract opportunities for native-owned companies, and this included encouraging new Native-owned business. As Syncrude puts it, "we are interested in creating careers rather than dead-end jobs for Aboriginal people" (p.3).

The Native Development Program was designed to help Aboriginal people adapt to work with Syncrude and "fashioned and directed by Aboriginal employees" (1978, p.3).[8]

6.1.3.2.2Industrial Workers' Program

This five-week program was designed to train people to work as general labourers in the Syncrude's plant construction phase. The Industrial Workers' Program, funded by Alberta Manpower, began at Keyano College in Fort McMurray in 1975. Workers were taught various construction skills, including how to erect scaffolding, concrete work, trenching, excavating, and tying rebar (Keyano College, 1976). Workers who completed this program were almost assured jobs at the plant.

The skills obtained by students enrolled in this program were variable. The Indian

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[8] To date five people have been responsible for the Aboriginal Development Program: Terry Garvin, Herb Callihoe, Alex Gordon, Jim Carbery, and Robert Loader. The first and two most recent directors are non-Aboriginal.

Association and representatives of the Alberta government complained that the low skill levels acquired did not prepare students for jobs other than menial labour (Howard, 1995). A former student stated, "the training was 'pretty simple' and it did not really qualify us to do very much on site besides 'back-breaking' jobs. The program got me a job at Bechtel, but did not really train me" (Personal Interview, for Industrial Worker's Program student, 1996). Another former student described her experience as follows:

> Mostly we learned how to "operate a shovel." I worked on the labour crew for four years and never got a promotion or anything. In fact, I can't remember any women getting off the labour crew. Only men got to be promoted and then got to be our bosses. We worked like dogs! (Personal Interview, former Industrial Worker's Program student, 1997).

It is not known how many Aboriginal people enrolled in this program.[9] This program won the Award of Merit from Native Outreach[10] in 1975. I spoke with a person who worked with Native Outreach when the award was given and was told that the program was chosen for the award because of the number of Aboriginal people employed as a result of this program and that employment numbers were the only criterion used to select this program for the award.

6.1.3.2.3 Quotas versus Best Efforts

According to Howard (1995), employment quotas were the topic of discussion at a Pilot Training Program meeting between Fred Walchi of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and W. N. Sande of Syncrude in February 1976. Sande described the meeting was described as follows:

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[9] Requests made to determine the number of people enrolled in this program from Keyano College and Human Resources Development Canada were unanswered.

[10] Native Outreach was a province-wide Aboriginal Employment agency.

> It was reported that Mr Buchanan requested a contract for employment of 125 native persons out of the 450 trainee slots. I suggested that we have a "best efforts" clause in place of the contract and numerical target. I was questioned as to what constitute a "best efforts" clause and I indicated that it would be for our legal people to design but in effect would indicate Syncrude would utilize these "best efforts" in maximizing the native personnel. I indicated that Mr. Walchi would have to:
>
> 1. determine whether there was a sincere intent on the part of Syncrude management to hire Native personnel;
>
> 2. determine that an adequate organization existed for the recruitment, training and retention of Native people;
>
> 3. and determine that an adequate organization existed within Syncrude to implement the program.
>
> I felt that if the above conditions were met, Syncrude would employ the maximum number of Native personnel possible. ... I have since been contacted by Mr. Lorne Mowers[11] and he will be meeting with me at 10 a.m., Monday February 23rd to describe to me a contract proposal Indian Affairs has for this project. I would appear that Indian Affairs is not giving up on the subject of a contract and quota (p. 58).

According to Howard (1995) Syncrude has set targets and monitored its performance while rejecting the concept of Aboriginal employee quotas, a concept that was and still is resisted by Syncrude. Syncrude president, Eric Newell explains:

> Initially the requirements were that we would have hiring programs for Aboriginal people. That's how we started out, and that was probably our first mistake. We were hiring Aboriginal people, but as fast as we hired them we were losing them through attrition. We hadn't appreciated that what we really needed was not a hiring program but a development program (Rehaume, 1994, p. 7).

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[11] Lorne Mowers was an Indian Affairs and Northern Development employee.

6.1.3.2.4 The Syncrude Indian Opportunities Agreement [12]

The Syncrude Indian Opportunities Agreement ,also called the Syncrude Agreement, was signed on July 3, 1976 between the federal government (Indian Affairs and Northern Development), Syncrude Canada Ltd., and the Indian Association of Alberta.

Background

In late 1975 Syncrude received a letter from IAA president Harold Cardinal, which announced the Indian Association of Alberta's intention to bring legal action to regain complete control over the natural resources contained in the Athabasca Tar Sands for Alberta Indians (Howard, pp. 52-53). The letter reads in part:

> Our decision reflects our determination to become meaningful participants and partners in Canada's present and future developments. ... Four years ago, we began an intensive series of meetings with both levels of government and industry to bring to their attention the fact that there existed an Native labour pool that would welcome participation in and benefits from the opportunities that would flow from natural resource development in the province. We recognize the fact that the potential represented by the Native labour pool could never be tapped until their existed adequate financial resources to finance the cost of new and relevant programs of up-grading; vocational, academic and management training.
>
> We were aware as well of the need for the creation of a meaningful and relevant economic development program to finance the endeavours of our people either in their communities or on-site in the areas of resource development. We asked for participation in these areas. ... Under extraordinary development opportunities, our participation in Alberta's boom was and continues to be the last item, if it were ever an item in the list of priorities held by government and industry.
>
> We intend to procure from our action resources which will under our direct control to enable us to work on our priorities for our development. ... In the spirit of our treaties, any agreement on the use of our resources must meet not

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[12] The Syncrude Indian Opportunities Agreement is not actually a program but an agreement. It was included in this section because it was the basis for subsequent Syncrude Programs.

> only our needs but as well assist in meeting your needs by perhaps lessening the tax burden on your shoulders. (pp. 52-53)

In March 1976 the Indian Association asked that the following clauses be included in the agreement being negotiated between the federal government, Syncrude, and the Indian Association of Alberta (Howard, 1995). The clauses read:

1. That Syncrude agree to fill at least 30% of their total positions on all levels and in all categories of employment with Indians;
2. That Syncrude agree to meet the 30% minimum quota within twelve months of the date the contract is signed;
3. That Syncrude agree to cover relocation, housing and training costs involved in their efforts to employ Indians;
4. That Syncrude agree to give the IAA first option on the cost plus basis for any and all contract work;
5. That Syncrude agree to meet regularly with representatives of the IAA to assist in the planning, financing and development of necessary support business;
6. That Syncrude's compliance with the above clauses be monitored quarterly through a comprehensive review of expenditures involving representatives of both the IAA and the federal government;
7. That the penalty for non-compliance with the clauses on employment be that Syncrude make annual payments to the IAA of the sum equal to the cost of relocating, housing, training and paying 30% of Syncrude's total workforce;
8. That the penalty payments for non-compliance with the clauses on employment would continue on an annually-adjusted basis for the duration of the Syncrude project;
9. That the penalty for non-compliance with the clause on contract work be that Syncrude pay the IAA a sum equal to the value of the contracts involved;
10. That the penalty for non-compliance with the clause on the development of necessary support businesses be that Syncrude pay the IAA a sum equal to

> the amount required to set up such necessary support businesses. (pp. 53-54)

Within months of receiving the threat of legal action an agreement was reached. One can only speculate about the impact of this letter on the ongoing negotiations. The letter states that the IAA had met with government and industry for four years prior to this letter being written. In a personal conversation an individual involved in the negotiation process, told me of the great sense of frustration felt by the Indian Association representatives by Syncrude's "foot dragging." "Syncrude was buying time by keeping us at bay."

Syncrude Indian Opportunities Agreement (The Syncrude Agreement)

The Syncrude Indian Opportunities Agreement (The Syncrude Agreement) was signed by Syncrude, The Indian Association of Alberta ,and the federal government on July 3, 1976 (Syncrude, 1997c) (see Appendix E). The agreement covered a 10-year period and outlined organization policies for increasing business and employment opportunities for Alberta's Status Indians in the development (construction) and operating phases. According to Howard (1995), this agreement was later amended to include Metis and non-Status Indians.

This agreement included the creation of two new political/economic entities such entities would help Syncrude fulfil its obligation to the local Aboriginal people, the political organizations, and the federal and provincial governments. Both entities were monitored by the Indian Association of Alberta for a fee of $20,000 per annum.

The first was the Indian Oil Sands Economic Development Corporation (IOSEDC), an economic development agency that served to facilitate the development of Native enterprises and businesses serving the oil sands area and was funded by Indian Affairs and

Northern Development for a five-year period. This corporation was to identify economic development opportunities within the oil sands industry and communicate them to the Aboriginal community. The corporation would also assist local Aboriginal entrepreneurs prepare business plans and aid with plan implementation.

The second was a foundation, also funded by Indian Affairs and Northern Development for a five-year period, that would give Aboriginal people grants for equity funding money for business development. The foundation would provide the Aboriginal person with his or her portion of funds required to obtain business loans from lending institutions.

6.1.3.2.5 Letter of Intent to Hire Program

In 1976 the Letter of Intent policy was implemented at Syncrude. This policy is listed as Section 2.2 of the Syncrude Agreement. This program offered employment to Aboriginal people after they obtained a Grade 10 education. Training costs and living allowances for this program were provided by the provincial (Alberta Manpower Department) and federal (Indian Affairs and Northern Development) governments. The Syncrude policy states:

> When the Syncrude recruiter finds a person who lacked the educational qualifications, but who otherwise displays those necessary qualities to become employed , the recruiter will tell the job applicant that if s/he will take educational upgrading to at least the grade 10 level in math, science and English, then Syncrude hire him or her at the completion of this training (Syncrude, 1978, p.2).

The rationale for this program was that Aboriginal people could not hope to advance in the organization without a Grade 10 education or equivalent work experience. "These levels were set to ensure that new native employees had the necessary educational and technical background to enable them to advance within the organization" (Syncrude, 1980, p.3).

This program essentially raised the education level for Aboriginal employees. A Syncrude internal memo stated the "problem" of defining minimum educational requirements. The memo dated December 5, 1975 (Howard, 1995) reads:

> There is a great deal of controversy with regard to what these entry levels of education should be, with the result that with most people I have contacted, strong positions (and emotions!) were involved with their views. Perhaps a recap of these positions taken would provide a better starting point from which to resolve the problem.
>
> **Keyano College**
> Keyano feels that a Grade 9 level of education is all that should be necessary to enter employment in most trade areas. They are willing to concede that with certain occupations (process operators, upgrading, for example) the level of education should be higher in the areas of math and science.
>
> **Apprenticeship Branch**
> These people feel that Grade 9 is sufficient for most trade areas. (They are not, as yet, involved with apprenticeship for heavy equipment operation). They also will admit that the Grade 10 level of education required for entering some trades is more arbitrary than necessary which is largely the result of positions taken by the trade union.
>
> **Great Canadian Oil Sands (G.C.O.S.)**
> They require a "good Grade 9" standing for their welding and mechanics courses and also a "good Grade 10" level for millwrights and electrical trades. However, for their heavy equipment operators drivers, although they try to get people with a Grade 9 standing, they are more concerned with the potential employee's work experience and work record, and thus many with a Grade 8 standing are taken in. Mr. Al Kemp, the Manager of Human Resources at G.C.O.S. would like to see the educational levels higher, but the organization finds this difficult to do.
>
> **Department of Education**
> These people generally feel that the level of education should be higher for entering apprenticeships.

> The reason that there is controversy as a entry level, largely concerns the question: What is a Grade 10 education? Perhaps a way out our dilemma might be to give those people who claim a Grade 9 education tests based on the Math 13, English 13 and Science 11 courses. If the candidate passes these tests, then there is no problem. If he fails, he would of course have to take academic training up to these levels. (pp. 72-73)

This solution seems unfair to the applicant. To have completed Grade 9 is one thing, but to expect those people to challenge and pass Grade 10 math, science, and English courses is quite another. This so-called solution sets people up to fail.

Syncrude went ahead with raising educational levels for Aboriginal employees although this was deemed unnecessary by others involved in training. The "artificially high" educational achievement level required of Aboriginal employees was protested. As Howard (1995) states:

> Whether or not it was necessary to have an academic education to do many of the jobs at Syncrude was never convincingly challenged, although certainly, especially with the Native Development Group, objections were frequently raised to the educational requirements established (Howard, p.73).

Certainly the types of jobs performed by Aboriginal employees usually needed "a strong back," not an arbitrary academic achievement level. One person spoke of the educational achievement level by stating, "You don't need a 'great education' to smooth concrete or push a wheelbarrow. In fact, I think that they could justify giving us such 'crappy jobs' to do because we were 'uneducated.' We felt we couldn't ask for better because we were uneducated" (Personal interview with former Industrial Worker's Program student, 1996).

Objections were also raised by the Indian Association of Alberta and the Alberta government, as most reserves did not offer schooling beyond grade 9 (Howard, 1995, p. 73). The objections to this policy went unheeded by Syncrude (incidently, the required educational level was raised to Grade 12 in 1990). It appears that education was used as a screening device for Syncrude employees. A 1977 organization memo states that 365 of 609 or 60% Aboriginal people from northeastern Alberta who "qualify for and want jobs with Syncrude" did not meet the minimum educational requirements (Howard, 1995, p. 79).

A 1980 Syncrude document states that the "Letter of Intent to Hire" program was not as successful as the organization had hoped. The organization did not offer suggestions about why the program did little to increase Aboriginal employee numbers at Syncrude. The program results showed that as a result of the 80 letters issued 25 Aboriginal people began upgrading. Of these only 10 joined Syncrude and only two or three remain with Syncrude (Syncrude, 1980:4). This program was implemented against the advice of those involved in training (the Alberta Apprenticeship Board, GCOS, Keyano College, and the Department of Education).

6.1.3.2.6 Aboriginal Pre-Employment Program

In 1978 Herb Callihoe, head of the Native Training and Counselling, reported that Syncrude's efforts toward Aboriginal employment were not achieving the results they had hoped. In fact, Syncrude was not hiring as many Aboriginals as they should have been and more importantly, those hired were not staying long with the organization (Howard, 1995). Callihoe suggested a pre-employment training be implemented to help correct this problem. This program would include in-service training for life skills and job readiness (Syncrude, 1997:3c).

Callihoe proposed this program about the time Syncrude plant began operations in 1978. He had found that few Aboriginal people were employed with the organization (Howard, 1995, p. 59). Syncrude records (1980) show that 145 Aboriginal people were in their employ, which constituted 5.8% of the total Syncrude workforce. Syncrude reports that few native employee with marketable skills transferred to permanent jobs in the operations phase of the project. They further report that "Native people were more attracted to the higher income of temporary construction jobs than to the security and career potential of permanent jobs within Syncrude" (p. 1). This explanation does not make sense. Why would people who had worked for an organization for years on a temporary basis not want permanent, more stable employment? Syncrude had committed itself to creating "careers and not dead-end-jobs" for its Aboriginal employees. Did Syncrude [illegible] fulfil its obligation to its Aboriginal employees and then attempt to shift the blame for its inactivity to the employees themselves?

When asked about their attempts to gain employment with Syncrude, many Aboriginal interviewees said they were unsuccessful. Many also disagreed with Syncrude's explanation that Aboriginal employees did not want permanent employment. Some said "We had worked for Bechtel for years, we had moved our families to McMurray, why wouldn't we want steady employment?" (Personal interviews with former Bechtel employees, 1996-1997).

6.1.3.2.6.1 Aboriginal Development Program

When non-Aboriginal Jim Carbery became the manager of the Aboriginal Development Program in 1982, the program's mandate changed. Focus shifted from helping

Aboriginal people into the Syncrude environment to "normal process." As Carbery puts it, "Aboriginals must move from dependence to independence" (Howard, 1995, p. 60). Syncrude reports stated in 1985 that "The hope is that in the future, Aboriginal and Metis people will not have to have special consideration for jobs, contracts, etc. but will be able to compete on an even playing field with the larger population" (Syncrude, 1997a, p.5). However, the company had an obligation to Aboriginal people as set out in the Syncrude Agreement. In clause 5.1 of the Syncrude Agreement, the organization agreed to

> provide counselling services, including information and guidance to Indian employees and Indians holding letters of "intent to hire" and to their spouses and children in respect to living conditions, life skills and social and cultural adjustments and such Indians' training, job orientation and working conditions (Slavik, 1980, p.274).

Carbery also set out to dismantle some prejudices and discriminatory attitudes about Aboriginal employees in the Syncrude environment. He said, "Discrimination is a mind set," and he saw his business as "changing mind sets, to break the typecasting of native people as lazy, drunks and unreliable." Carbery's way to achieve this was to "blind people with facts" about Syncrude's Aboriginal employees. " He proves empirically that native peoples' records for absenteeism, safety and turnover, etc., are the same if not better than the average non-Aboriginal employee at Syncrude. It takes a long time to change people's attitudes (Howard, 1995, p.9). For example, the Oil-Containment and Recovery (OCAR) team, a group of Aboriginal employees from Fort Chipewyan, had the best attendance record of any group on site. Absenteeism was down to 1% or less, which contradicts the myth that Aboriginal employees have poor attendance records at work. The OCAR team also had one of the best safety records of any group on-site. These statistics run counter to the negative stereotypes of Native people. (Rehaume, 1994)

Aboriginal Cross-cultural training has been taken by most of the supervisors and managers. Organization president, Eric Newell says " CROSS-cultural training has worked to our benefit, because there are some ways in which Natives approach things that are different from non-Aboriginals" (Rehaume, 1994, p. 7).

Although Carbery said that no "special" programs would be implemented for Aboriginal people and that they would have to compete on a level playing field, the organization did implement programs to increase its Aboriginal employee population. For example, the organization established a hiring freeze in 1991, but Aboriginals and recent postsecondary graduates were exempt.

6.1.4 Special Initiatives For Achieving Workplace Equity

6.1.4.1 Contractors

Syncrude embarked on a policy of sole-source and closed-bid contracts with various Aboriginal businesses in the area. This practice began in the early 1970s and was one of the objectives of the Action Plan for Native Training and Counselling Program. Syncrude President Eric Newell says entrepreneurs were helped to develop a good business by Syncrude (Rehaume, 1994). Twenty-eight Aboriginal companies are contracted to provide a variety of services and supplies to Syncrude, and these companies employ an additional 354 Aboriginals. Syncrude also makes it clear to Aboriginal entrepreneurs that they will enjoy the sheltered contract situation for a limited time (Rehaume, 1994).

The Aboriginal companies contracted to Syncrude (28 companies) comprise a fraction (1%) of the 2,500 small and medium-sized companies that supply the organization with raw materials, supplies, construction, engineering, finance, finished goods, and consulting services. The 1995 Syncrude Annual Report states that contractors conduct more than $597 million worth of business with Syncrude. The Aboriginal Employment Report states that $37 million was spent on Aboriginal business in 1995 (Syncrude: 1996e).[13] Aboriginal companies did 6.2% of the business contracted with Syncrude in 1995.

6.1.4.1.1 Ramifications of Special Initiatives

Both benefits and drawbacks can be seen from Syncrude's sole-source and limited bid contracting. The benefits to the community are that Aboriginal business ownership has an opportunity to prosper, and those individuals who might not have had the opportunity to own a business are now able to do so. In addition, locally owned businesses can lower the "artificially high" educational requirement imposed by Syncrude. This enables them to hire people they know from their community who are "good workers," but lack the academic achievement level required for employment with Syncrude.

Syncrude benefits from the contractors' situation in that they can count the contractor's Aboriginal employees in their employment totals as secondary or contract workers. This helps them maintain their title as the "largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people in Canada" that is often quoted in their own literature as well as in magazine and newspaper articles (Syncrude, 1980, 1994, 1996; Slavik, 1979; Rehaume, 1994).

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[13] The 1995 Syncrude Annual Report states that a lump sum of $55 million was spent on Aboriginally owned business and Aboriginal employment, salaries, benefits, community development programs, and general contributions.

6.1.4.2.1Exclusion from Hiring Freeze

A hiring freeze has been in effect at Syncrude since 1991, but an attempt to increase the number of Aboriginal employees and the percentage they constitute of the entire Syncrude workforce, management has excluded Aboriginal from their current hiring freeze. The organization has targeted its Aboriginal employees to be 10% of its workforce, which at present employee rates, the target would be 360 Aboriginal employees. Aboriginal employees currently number 335, is slightly below that goal.

A 9.3 percentage of the workforce is much higher than the other case study companies involved in this research as other companies are striving approximately 3.5%. However, if Aboriginals' representation in local population (13%) were used of as employment goals then Syncrude is below its goal. Some local Aboriginals are happy with Syncrude's efforts to employ Aboriginals; others say that more should be done to increase both the numbers and opportunities (advancement through the organization) for Aboriginal workers (Personal conversations with local Aboriginal people at an economic development conference, April 1996).

6.1.4.2.1Ramifications of Special Initiatives

Aboriginal people's exclusion from the hiring freeze has caused hard feelings between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employees. Some employees feel that if Aboriginals' win, then they must lose. Although the organization is benefiting from this initiative because it can fulfil its obligation to hire more Aboriginal employees, it has the negative consequence of placing newly hired Aboriginal employees into a potentially hostile environment, where it is perceived that "preferential treatment" is given to of Aboriginal employees. In interviews with Syncrude employees, Howard (1995) stated that almost everyone she spoke to said, "You have to be native to get a job at Syncrude" (p. 107). A male interviewee stated that:

> I think that [it] may not be fully understood by some of our employees who see us hiring Aboriginal employees, particularly at a time when we are not hiring other people. It causes some concern and we can appreciate that concern. They are looking for a future here for their children in Fort McMurray and employment opportunities may not be as great as they would like to see them and so they see us hiring only Aboriginal people. (Howard, 1995:107)

This view was supported by a person I interviewed, who stated that once a year Syncrude management hosts an "open forum" where employees submit anonymous questions that are answered publicly. She said the issue of Aboriginal people being hired during a hiring freeze came up often. She said, "It was pretty uncomfortable for Aboriginals in the room to see the anger of co-workers. When Aboriginals' character was being attacked, I asked myself, 'is this what they really think of us?'"

Aboriginal employees are happy about obtaining jobs in tough economic times. They are also happy that their numbers are increasing, but this gain is not without its drawbacks. Some employees said that relations with some co-workers are strained. A common topic of conversation is that department "X" has a new Aboriginal employee. The conversation then usually digresses to how a co-worker's child could not gain employment with the organization. When asked how they responded to this conversation, most said they left the group and went back to work early (Personal interviews, Syncrude Aboriginal employees, 1996).

6.1.5.0 Measures of Success

The effectiveness and efficiency of the organization's Employment Equity efforts can be measured on a variety of indices. The following are some, but not an exhaustive list, of indictors that can show improvements in Aboriginal employee representation. I apply the following criteria to the companies involved in this case study: Employee Totals, Cultural Awareness, Length of Employment, Declining Aboriginal Employee Turnover Rates, Promotion of Aboriginal Employees, and Diversity in Employment.

6.1.5.1 Employee Totals

One measure of success that can be used is the total number of Aboriginal employees employed with the organization. This indicator is superficial because it does not speak to many aspects of the job such as job quality, job security, or opportunities to advance. Is it sufficient to have people employed in low-status, dead-end jobs just for the sake of employing them? Do employers owe workers the opportunity to advance their skills?

The number of Aboriginal employees should not be used as the only indicator of success. Other indicators such as increasing the seniority obtained by Aboriginal employees, lowering Aboriginal employee turnover rates, and Aboriginal employees obtaining jobs other than entry level positions are just as, if not more, important. Syncrude has steadily increased its Aboriginal employee numbers since it began its operations phase and has a target of 10% of its direct workforce to be Aboriginal. The percentage currently stands at 9.3%.

6.1.5.2 Cultural Awareness

The literature reads as if two separate programs existed, one for Aboriginals and one for non-Aboriginals. Since 1979 Syncrude has run Cultural Awareness classes for supervisors. These are designed to help supervisors and other Syncrude personnel to understand the cultural differences between Aboriginal employees and mainstream society. The objective is to promote greater understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal people and their values. In a 1994 interview, Syncrude president Eric Newell stated that CROSS-cultural training makes the supervisors more sensitive to Aboriginal employees and some difficulties they might encounter with them (Rehaume, 1994). Syncrude reports (1997c) that more than 700 employees have attended this program.

Syncrude's Native Program (1980) document also mentions a CROSS-cultural program that appears to have a different focus than that mentioned above. The organization's position was that Native people's cultural background determines behaviour and that some of that behaviour is problematic. Aboriginal people have difficulties adjusting to a highly industrialized and urbanized society.

It seems the focus of this program is "improving" Aboriginal employees by lessening their "culture shock" and getting them to overcome their "hang-ups regarding cultural beliefs" (Syncrude, 1980, p.4). The "transformed" Aboriginal employee is expected to have increased self-worth or self-esteem and be more motived to succeed in industrial society.

Any program that improves a person's understanding of the world around him or her is beneficial. The underlying premise is that Aboriginal people cannot be "good" employees for deep-seated, cultural reasons. Separate the Indian from his culture and the "problem" was solved. This opinion was supported by a person I interviewed who said, "They hire us because we are Indian and then they try to strip us of anything that makes us Indian. Go figure!" There is no mention of other reasons why Aboriginal people were not "devoted" to the organization. For example, the types of jobs given to Aboriginal people were not personally satisfying. The attitude of the organization seems to be that Aboriginal people must overcome their deficits before they can become valued employees, which places the onus for change on the Aboriginal employee and not on the employer.

6.1.5.3 Length of Employment.

In Newell's 1994 (Rehaume, 1994) interview, he cites the average length of employment for Aboriginal employees as 7.6 years, which is "right up there with the rest of the employees." More recent organization statistics show that the average length of employment for Aboriginal employees has increased to 8.4 years, which is still far shorter than the average length of employment for Syncrude employees at 13.1 years (Syncrude, 1997e). The period of employment for an Aboriginal employee ranged from 20.8 years to 0.3 years.

Seniority is important to employees because of the understanding that those with longer service to the organization should be given preference in employment (Dulude, 1995). Aboriginal employees who have proven themselves to be reliable employees through their length of service have earned the right to training opportunities and promotions. The reported lack of promotion of Aboriginal people at Syncrude is discussed below.

6.1.5.4 Declining Aboriginal Employee Turnover Rates

Syncrude reports that the turnover rate for Aboriginal employees has declined significantly. Early reports cited turnover rates at 130% in 1977. This rate declined to 55% in 1978 (Syncrude, 1980), approximately 2.5 times less than the previous year but still high. The 1995 rate was 9.3%. The early retirement incentive packages caused a blip in the Aboriginal employee turnover in 1995. The rate in 1993 was 6.6% and in 1994 5.6% Syncrude expects the turnover rate to return to where it was before the early retirement incentives. These rates are similar to turnover rates for the general Syncrude workforce that stands at 5.5%.

Declining Aboriginal employee turnover rates show stability within the workforce, a characteristic that has been absent from the Aboriginal workforce. Stability was never applied to the Aboriginal workforce in any of the discussions I had with Syncrude management and Aboriginal employees.

Both the organization and the Aboriginal employees appear committed to develop human resources. The organization has chosen to do so by providing training opportunities and career planning. Most of the employees interviewed for this study (7 of 10) said they had "recently" been given the opportunity to receive additional training. Many said this was part of a policy change that encourages career development. This may have contributed to the lower turnover rate for Aboriginal employees by giving them a chance to increase their skill level, which prepares them for promotion and increases their income.

6.1.5.5 Promotion of Aboriginal Employees

A report supplied by Syncrude reports (1996b) that there were no promotions of Aboriginal employees in 1996 but did not explain why. Most of the employees interviewed said they were no longer in the same job as when they started with the organization but would not consider the job change a promotion, seeing the moves as lateral rather than upward. Most said they were given no additional responsibility or pay increase.

The lack of promotion of Aboriginal employees at Syncrude is a source of discontent with many of the people I interviewed. Some said they are not motivated to bid for a promotion because they do not think their "chances are very good of winning the bid" (Personal interviews with Syncrude Aboriginal employees, 1996-1997).

Employees said they wanted to see Aboriginal people in management and they be in positions where decisions and policies were being made (Personal interviews, Syncrude Aboriginal employees, 1997). They felt that this would make them feel "a part of the organization" and not just a worker. One person said, "It made me proud to see Alex (Gordon) in the office with his suit. He was one of us". Some saw it as a way of raising expectations and commitment among workers.

6.1.5.6 Diversity in Employment

Syncrude records show that the vast majority of the Aboriginal employees are in the lower of the two occupational groups at Syncrude: Occupational.[14] Eighty-six percent of Syncrude's Aboriginal employees fall into this category (Syncrude, 1996e). Further, more

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[14] Occupational jobs include, among others, process operators, heavy equipment operators, trades workers, lube and fuel technicians, general workers, tool crib attendants, and lab technicians.

Aboriginal employees are employed as heavy equipment operators than in any other job at Syncrude. The 1995 Aboriginal Development Program Annual Report shows that the most numerous new hirings were heavy equipment operators. However, it says Syncrude was successful in recruiting Aboriginal people in the following positions: five engineers, a chartered management accountant, two public affairs specialists; four journeyman tradespeople, two computer specialists, four lab technicians, and one occupational health nurse.

6.1.6.0 Syncrude's Employment Profile

In Fort McMurray, a city of approximately 35,000 inhabitants located 60 kilometres south of the plant site, Syncrude is one of the largest employers. According to recent research conducted by Howard (1995), Syncrude is said to provide approximately 15,000 direct and indirect jobs in their mining, extraction, upgrading, utilities maintenance, environmental affairs, and administrative operations across Canada.

Syncrude underwent an organizational redesign implemented in 1994 and continued into 1995. At its employment peak, Syncrude employed 4,700 people, but the workforce has since decreased to 3,600. Many employees were lost through attrition and an enhanced early retirement program (Syncrude, 1996b). Essentially, the Syncrude workforce is producing more with fewer employees. A redeployment program was set in place to find new jobs within the organization for employees whose jobs were phased out, and approximately 140 employees were moved within the organization. The employee turnover for 1996 was reported at 5.5% (Interview with Syncrude Official #1, 1996).

6.1.7 Aboriginal Employment Profile

In 1996 the Syncrude employee population stood at 3,600, of which 335 or 9.3% were Aboriginal. Syncrude is committed to having its workforce reflect local demographics, where Aboriginal people make up approximately 13% of the regional population. If Syncrude's Aboriginal employee representation was on a par with their regional population, their Aboriginal employee population would be 468, 133 more Aboriginal employees than they had on June 30, 1996.

Table 6.1. Syncrude's Full-time Aboriginal Employees by Occupational Level, 1995

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper Level Management	--	--
Middle or Other Management	--	--
Professionals	42	12.5
Semi-professionals/Technicians	--	--
Supervisors	5	1.5
Foremen/women	--	--
Clerical Workers	8	2.4
Sales Workers	--	--
Service Workers	--	--
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	265	79.1
Semi-skilled Manual Workers	15	4.5
Other Manual Workers	--	--
Total	335	100

Source: Syncrude 1996e.

Syncrude has two occupational categories: Administration, Professional, Technical (APT), and Occupational. The APT category has higher occupational status and includes administration, professional, technical, and team leaders. The occupational category has lower status and includes heavy equipment operators, process operations/power engineers, trades, apprentices, and general workers/lube technologists. Table 6.1 shows Syncrude's Aboriginal workforce by occupation and their percentage of the total workforce.

The Aboriginal Employment Reports (1997e) shows that the bulk of Aboriginal employees (86%) are in the lower, Occupational category. The most frequent occupation for Aboriginal employees at Syncrude is heavy equipment operator, and statistics show that 120 of 335 (36%) of Aboriginal employees at Syncrude are heavy equipment operators. No Aboriginal employees were in the two top occupational levels, upper-level management and middle or other management. Syncrude reported that 30 Aboriginal employees were hired in the last 12 months, and terminations totalled 18, which left a net gain of 12 employees. No promotions of Aboriginal employees were reported in the past year.

6.1.7.0 Summary

Syncrude's Aboriginal Employment Program is one of the oldest in Canada. It has some successes and some failures in its efforts to increase Aboriginal employment in the organization. For example, a successful policy to increase Aboriginal employees with the organization was to exclude Aboriginal people from the hiring freeze. This prudent move caused an increase in both the number and representational percentage of Aboriginal employees. A less fruitful experiment was the "Letter of Intent to Hire" program that netted only two or three employees.

Syncrude has been adamant throughout the years about its need for "qualified"

Aboriginal employees. Organization policies and agreements with Aboriginal groups and government stated that Aboriginal employees would require a minimum education or job-related experience level before they could gain employment. The rationale for this was that Aboriginal people could not hope to progress through the organization unless minimal criteria were met. Syncrude wanted to give Aboriginal people careers, not dead end jobs (Syncrude, 1978). It is harsh to say that Syncrude has placed Aboriginal people in dead-end jobs but the data show that most Aboriginal employees at Syncrude have had limited job mobility. Many of the interviewees stated that they received lateral job changes, which means that they remained in the same occupational stratum. When I asked whether they were given more responsibility or more authority with the job changes, many said they were given more responsibility but not more authority. When I asked what the difference was between responsibility and authority, I was told that responsibility meant that as an individual employee, they had to do more but did not have the authority to made decisions. One interviewee said, "They will always let you do more but you don't get paid for it" (Personal interviews with Syncrude Aboriginal employees, November 1996 to January 1997).

Perhaps one of the most obvious measures of success is the total number of Aboriginal employees in the general workforce. Like the Employment Equity Act, Syncrude's Aboriginal employment program is number-driven, its primary goal to increase its Aboriginal employees. However, simply increasing the number of Aboriginal employees in low-status jobs is not enough. Employees must be given the opportunity to advance in the organization as a non-Aboriginal might advance.

Syncrude is near its goal of 370 Aboriginal employees in 1997, with 335 Aboriginal employees on the payroll. This is 9.3% of the 10.0% goal cited in some organization literature. Parity with regional representation has been Syncrude's for many years, although at one time the goal for Aboriginal employment was 18% (Slavik, 1979). Current figures show the regional Aboriginal representation at 13%, so Syncrude would have to increase its Aboriginal workforce to 468 individuals to meet this goal.

Although employee numbers are important, one must look at the types of jobs being performed by the Aboriginal employees. Clauses in the *Syncrude Agreement* (1976) stated that Aboriginal people would be recruited to managerial, technical, professional, operating, and technical positions. Syncrude was committed to on-the-job training leading to permanent employee status. Few Aboriginal people have ever been in the managerial category at Syncrude. Records show that 86% of Aboriginal employees are in the occupational job category, and more than one third of Syncrude's Aboriginal employees are heavy equipment operators. The 1995 Aboriginal Development Program Annual Report (1996b) shows most new recruits are heavy equipment operators. This high concentration of Aboriginal employees in a specific occupation may indicate ghettoization, and may also explain why Aboriginal employees feel more comfortable in a workplace where there are more Aboriginal employees. However, Syncrude was successful in recruiting more Aboriginal professionals in the last year.

The Cultural Awareness classes for supervisors and other employees have been somewhat effective because they address the issues of cultural difference between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. They have provided a forum where people can address their ethnocentric values and beliefs and have fostered understanding by focusing on the similarities between people. Some Aboriginal employees say, " It is fine for people to attend the meeting and be seen attending, but it is what happens outside the meeting that is important" (Personal interview with Syncrude employee, 1997). The support of the people who deliver and administer the program is crucial. "You have senior management committed to the program, the people that you were dealing at the manager and supervisory levels have a direct say in the hiring, and they could say one thing and say the correct things but their actions do not support their words" (Howard, 1995, p. 97).

Employees say they "put up with racism practically on a daily basis" (Personal interviews with Syncrude employees, 1996-1997). They feel they must work doubly hard to prove themselves hard-working and worthy employees. A one person put it, "Cultural awareness goes out the window when the economy is slow" (Personal interview with Syncrude employee, 1996). One would expect the CROSS-cultural program to reduce the racism experienced by Aboriginal employees because its mandate is to promote understanding and acceptance of Aboriginal people.

The average length of employment for Aboriginal employees has increased from 7.6 years in 1994 to 8.3 years in 1996. This figure might have been larger but for a number of long-term employees who took early retirement. The Aboriginal employees do not have the same seniority as the non-Aboriginal employees who have an average of 13.1 years of service.

The declining turnover rate for Aboriginal employees shows employment stability. Aboriginal employees' turnover rates are similar to those for the general Syncrude workforce. The fact that there are no Aboriginal employees in managerial positions at

Syncrude was mentioned as a bone of contention with many of the Aboriginal employees whom I interviewed. There was a sense that Aboriginal people only "make it so far" at Syncrude, which indicates that a glass ceiling is operating there.

When asked about promotion prospects, one interviewee told me, "Syncrude pays me a good salary,[15] I guess I have to be happy with that -- I don't expect to be promoted" (Personal interview with Syncrude Aboriginal employee, 1996). In addition, the fact that no Aboriginal employees have been promoted to management also causes concern for some employees. Although some have been considered for promotion, they have not been successful. One person said that he or she was a "shoo-in" for a promotion but was unsuccessful. This person thought that others would be unwilling to "work for an Indian" (Personal interview, Syncrude employee, 1996).

It seems that Syncrude now has the stable Aboriginal workforce it has been striving for. The organization made efforts in the early years to increase numbers of Aboriginal employee in its workforce. Some of these initiatives were more successful than others. Aboriginal people themselves have had to adapt to gain entry to the organization. Today the efforts made are modest: apart from the hiring program, there does not appear to be any specific programming for Aboriginal employees, and this may be because of the large number of qualified Aboriginal people applying to work at the organization.

The Aboriginal employees must meet the same criteria for employment as non-Aboriginal employees. The training, retention, and orientation for Aboriginal employees is the same as for non-Aboriginals. When I asked the Aboriginal employees about the programs provided by Aboriginal Development office, most said they did not know of any programs.

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[15] The average income for an Aboriginal employee at Syncrude is $56,324 whereas the average income for Syncrude workers in general is $66,487 (Syncrude, 1997e).

Opportunities for Aboriginal people may be limited to specific areas. Some negative stereotypes of Aboriginal employees persist. For example, one individual stated, "They seem to think that I like to work outside because I'm Indian. When it's 40 below, I'd like to work inside where its warm" (Personal interview with Aboriginal employee, 1996). Although the most senior management supports the concept of the Aboriginal Development Program, some front-line managers and supervisors do not. When I asked those who raised this concern, many said that Syncrude "just expects people to get along and work things out" (Personal interview with Aboriginal employees, 1996-1997). They also added that they did not want to be viewed as someone who "has to run to the boss because he or she can't handle his or her own problems" (Personal interview with Aboriginal employees, 1996-1997). They further added, "You put up with it because these people are in more powerful positions than I am. After, all we (the Aboriginal employees) know who they are and try to avoid them." The fact that Eric Newell supports Aboriginal employment is laudable but how often does an Aboriginal heavy equipment operator encounter the president of the organization in the course of a day?

The Aboriginal Development Program Annual Report (1996c) states that Syncrude still provides the same support services and some additional ones, but there is no longer a formal Native Affairs Department. When asked what Syncrude's goal was toward Aboriginals, one person said "to turn us into one of them -- at least while we are on the job" (Personal interview with Syncrude employee, 1997).

Syncrude maintains a high profile within the Aboriginal community by sponsoring and co-sponsoring events. For example, it supported a national art exhibition in 1992 (Syncrude, 1994) and is currently a corporate sponsor of a First Nations exhibit at the provincial museum in Edmonton set to open in November 1997.

Syncrude's Aboriginal employment program has received much attention from authors and the media and appeared in all best case studies books I reviewed. When I asked delegates at a conference of Native Economic Development Officers who they thought was the best employer of Aboriginal people, most said Syncrude. When I asked what they thought made Syncrude such a good employer, they answered that it had so many Aboriginal employees. When I asked these same people the specifics of Syncrude's program and why they were so successful, they said they did not know. They said, "It was what they had heard and what they had read". Syncrude is benefiting from "good" publicity, but not too many people know the specifics of their program. None of the people to whom I spoke knew that Syncrude did not have one Aboriginal person in a management position and had not more many years.

TELUS CORPORATION [16]

6.2.1.0 Introduction

Telus Corporation represents the telecommunications sector in this study of Employment Equity.[17] Telus Corporation is a Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) organization under the Employment Equity Act because it is a federally regulated company with more than 100 employees. As such, it is required to file an Annual Employer's Report to the Employment Equity Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada. Telus's Annual Employer's Report is combined with the all other LEEP reports to form the Employment Equity Act Annual Report that is delivered to Parliament.

Telus's Annual Employer's Report summarizes the organization's Employment Equity statistics for the previous calendar year. As a legislated organization, Telus Corporation is subject to a fine of up to $50,000 for non-compliance with this reporting requirement (AGT, 1996c). The company's progress in improving the representation of the four designated groups is monitored by the Human Rights Commission and Human Resources Development Canada (AGT, 1996e).

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[16] For consistency, the author will refer to Alberta Government Telephones (AGT) as Telus Corporation throughout this report but the references are listed as mostly AGT documents.

[17] Telus Corporation represents the telecommunications sector in this study only. There is no insinuation that this organization is typical of all telecommunications companies.

6.2.1.2 Corporate Profile

On October 21, 1996 Telus completed the lengthy transition to a Masterbrand[18] "uniting six companies[19] and more than 9,000[20] employees under a common identity... It means a new, customer-focussed communications organization, and the end to AGT and ED TEL" (AGT, 1997, p. 10).

Telus Corporation is a widely held public corporation with registered and nonregistered shareholders (AGT, 1997a). It is the third largest telecommunications and information management service organization in Canada (AGT, 1996e). Organization literature describes the telecommunications industry as being in a state of "great transition" due to new and rapidly advancing technology (AGT, 1996d). Also, recent deregulation in the telecommunications field allows competition between long-distance service providers, which has required greater organizational flexibility and the constant demonstration of customer value. This focuses attention on front-line customer service jobs (AGT, 1996e).

Through its subsidiaries Telus managed $ 4.5 billion in assets in 1995 (AGT, 1996e). Telus subsidiaries include AGT Limited, ED TEL, AGT Mobility, AGT Directory and ED TEL Directory, AGT Advanced Communications, and Canadian Mobility Products (AGT,

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[18] Masterbrand is defined by Telus Corporation as its trademark.

[19] The companies united under the Masterbrand are Telus Communications (formerly Alberta Government Telephones), Telus (Edmonton, formerly Ed-Tel), Telus Mobility, Telus Advertising Services (Yellow Pages), Telus Advanced Communications, and Telus Marketing Services.

[20] There is a discrepancy in the number of employees reported by the organization. Telus Annual Employer's Reports cites approximately 6,100 employees while the Annual Report cites 9,000.

1996a). The Telus group also includes ISM Alberta, a partnership between TELUS, Information Systems Management Corporation and IBM Canada; and Telecential, a joint venture with CUC Broadcasting Ltd. in the United Kingdom that offers combined cable television and telephone services (1996e).

6.2.1.1Corporate Structure

Telus is a diverse, multilevel bureaucracy. It is headed by a President and Chief Operating Officer (COO) who reports to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Telus Corporation. Reporting to the COO are two Senior Vice-presidents of AGTL. There are also two senior vice-presidents (Marketing and Network Services) and seven vice-presidents (Business Services, Consumer Services, Legal, Finance, Regulatory Affairs, Information Technology, and Human Resources). Due to the large size and diverse functions contained within the Network Services area, there are seven Assistant Vice-Presidents (Network Provisioning, Customer Service, Network Management, Network Engineering, Operator Services, General Services, and Carrier Services) report to the Senior Vice-President of Network Services (AGT, 1996c). Telus Corporation has its headquarters in Edmonton. Alberta.

Telus' Mission Statement was listed as follows in one of its recent publications:

> We are Telus ... technicians, programmers, executives, repairmen, clerks, supervisors, installers, customer service representatives. We are more than 9,000 Albertans working together to build a world-class organization that will continue to serve our customers and fulfill our career aspirations (AGT, 1997, p. 1).

6.2.2.0 Background

Telus Corporation was in a unique position when the Employment Equity Act was enacted. It could not be determined whether this organization fell under the guidelines of LEEP because it was a provincially owned organization[21] (Alberta Government Telephones) being sold to the private sector. An Employment Equity consultant explained that when the sale was completed in February 1991, the organizations then fell under the jurisdiction of the LEEP. As such it was required to file an Annual Employer's Report. Due to the time constraints (inclusion under the Act occurred in February and the report is due on June 30), Telus Corporation's first Annual Employer's Report information was not provided for employees under the four designated groups as required by the Employment Equity Act: women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities and the disabled. Telus's first Annual Employer's Report gave data based solely on gender. Telus Corporation was listed as a "non-compliant" organization in the 1991 Employment Equity Act Annual Report (AGT, 1992). The following year, and in subsequent years, Telus Corporation provided data in the required format.

6.2.3 Programs

Organizational activities are directed at creating an internal environment supportive of diversity. The organization is committed itself to initiatives involving employment, gender, and Cross-cultural awareness training; external education and involvement; recruitment and retention of qualified employees; supporting temporary employment opportunities; and internships; and supporting career development and succession planning activities (AGT, 1996b).

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[21] Employment Equity legislation does not cover provincially owned or municipally owned companies.

6.2.3.1 TELUS Corporation's Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Policy

Telus Corporation created a Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Policy in 1994. This policy includes the four designated groups covered by the Employment Equity Act: women, Aboriginals, visible minorities, and disabled people. The policy statement reads, "Alberta is a place of increasing diversity with people of different gender, ethnicity and physical abilities, lifestyles, values and personal interests living learning and working together" (AGT, 1996c, p.1). The organization also says, "Telus recognizes the value of diversity as a business issue" (AGT, 1995c, p. 3). It appears, that like most companies, Telus wants its employees to more accurately represent the community it serves. This means more representation by members of the four designated groups covered under the Employment Equity Act.

The policy outlines the roles and responsibilities of various employees to ensure the implementation and success of the Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Policy. The policy (AGT, 1996b) reads as follows:

Role of Executives

1. To formally and visibly support Employment Equity initiatives.
2. To reflect the corporate commitment to Employment Equity in all executive practices.
3. To include Employment Equity management in corporate planning and evaluation processes.

Role of Managers

1. To communicate the corporate Employment Equity policy to employees.

2. To identify and remove systemic barriers to the recruitment, selection, promotion, training and development of women, Aboriginal persons, visible minorities and persons with disabilities.

3. To implement Employment Equity initiatives in their area of responsibility.

Role of Employees

1. To create and maintain a welcoming and supportive work environment.

Role of Human Resources

1. to align workforce, succession and development activities with the employment equity policy.

2. To assist managers in the identification and removal of systemic barriers to the recruitment, selection, promotion, training and development of designated groups.

3. To support managers in the shaping and realizing of Employment Equity initiatives.

Role of Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Department

1. To develop and maintain special programs to eliminate systemic barriers to the employment and advancement of women, Aboriginal persons, visible minorities and persons with disabilities.

2. To support Human Resources Advisors in fulfilling their role under this policy.

3. To research and coordinate the delivery of gender and Cross-cultural awareness and skill building opportunities for all levels of the organization (p. 2).

This multilevel policy makes the implementation and success of the organization's

Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Policy the responsibility of all Telus employees. The degree of responsibility varies with the employee's job title. This policy lays the groundwork for the more specifically focused Telus's Corporate Aboriginal Policy.

6.2.3.2 Corporate Aboriginal Policy

Telus Corporation wishes to provide "concrete and meaningful opportunities" for Canada's First Nations People (AGT, 1996b, p. 1) and it created an Aboriginal policy to achieve this purpose. The Telus Corporate Aboriginal Policy was fashioned after the Aboriginal policies of Amoco Canadian Petroleum Organization Ltd. and Nova Gas Transmission Ltd.[22] The Aboriginal policy was the catalyst for many of the recent initiatives taken by this organization. It hopes to improve existing and create new initiatives to improve Telus's relationships with its Aboriginal employees and the Aboriginal community. The Aboriginal policy originated in 1995 and was created by a group of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Telus employees who recognized the needs of the Aboriginal community. Their mandate focuses on six areas of concern: community involvement, education, employment, Aboriginal business development, Cross-cultural awareness, and employee engagement. Telus's Corporate Aboriginal Policy reads as follows:

> In support of our business initiatives and in alignment with our principles, AGT will establish long-term, mutually beneficial relationships based on trust, respect and understanding with Aboriginal peoples of Alberta. We acknowledge traditional Aboriginal value and individual differences among the various peoples. We will share a pledge with Aboriginal communities to respect and honour the land. We will abide by our policy and grow in our understanding through:

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[22] Statement taken from information provided to the author from Dave Richardson, Workforce Diversity and Employment Equity Manager with AGT.

1. **Community Involvement** involves building relationships with Aboriginal communities in Alberta by:
    1. Supporting events and programs organized by the Aboriginal communities.
    2. Supporting events and organizations that promote cultural awareness.
2. **Education** involves supporting initiatives to enhance the employability of Aboriginal people by:
    1. Working with communities to conduct workshops, open houses and career fairs.
    2. Supporting specialized programs with educational institutions and corporate groups.
    3. Promoting stay in school and Aboriginal role model programs.
    4. Providing scholarships and internships for Aboriginal students.
3. **Employment** involves developing and increasing employment opportunities for Aboriginal people in all phases of Telus's operations by:
    1. Supporting and increasing employment opportunities for Aboriginal business. Inviting Aboriginal businesses and contractors to participate in AGT activities and operations.
    2. Improving recruitment and retention of qualified Aboriginal people.
    3. Supporting Aboriginal employee career development.
4. **Aboriginal Business Development** involves working with Aboriginal enterprises to create value by:
    1. Supporting organizations that promote and develop Aboriginal business.
    2. Inviting Aboriginal business and contractors to participate in AGT activities and operations.
    3. Developing initiatives with other companies and organizations which promote job creation.

5. **Cross-cultural Awareness** involves building an understanding within AGT Limited of Aboriginal culture by:
   1. Providing Cross-cultural workshops and educational seminars.
   2. Providing related resource materials and consultation services
6. **Employment Engagement** involves encouraging AGT Limited employees to build a lasting relationship with Aboriginal customers and communities:
   1. Creating a structure which liases with Aboriginal communities and provides internal consultation and resource services.
   2. Providing targeted opportunities for AGT Limited employees to participate in and experience Aboriginal events.
   3. Promoting visible and active participation by AGT Limited executives (AGT, 1996d, p.3-4).

This policy attempts to reach out to the Aboriginal community and to Aboriginal customers. As one employee put it, "We want to make Telus Corporation a career option for Aboriginal people" (Personal Interview with Telus employee, 1996).

6.2.3.3 Aboriginal Advisory Team

The Aboriginal Advisory Team was created in 1994 and comprised of an equal number of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Telus employees from various departments. They address business development, marketing and equity issues with regard to Aboriginal people (personal conversation with Aboriginal Relations Manager, 1996). This committee meets on a bimonthly basis to determine future projects. Some of the projects initiated by this group include bringing in three Aboriginal interns from the Canadian Council of Aboriginal Business (CCAB) to work in the organization.

The Aboriginal Advisory Team keeps abreast of functions and events in the

Aboriginal community to ensure the organization's presence at notable events. For example, the Advisory Team is aware of trade fairs and career fairs within the Aboriginal community. Telus wishes to maintain and expand their contact with members of the target groups in the community to ensure that Telus understand their needs both as customers and potential employees and that those in the community understand Telus's needs as a potential employer (AGT, 1995).

This committee falls under the jurisdiction of the business services; its recommendations are taken to the Aboriginal Relations Manager. The Aboriginal Advisory Team does not work independently of management and must have initiatives ratified before implementation.

6.2.3.4 Aboriginal Relations Managers

Telus Corporation hired two Aboriginal Relations managers in 1995 to help the organization build more effective business relationships with First Nations customers and to support its Aboriginal employees. Located in Calgary and Edmonton, Aboriginal managers' duties include liaison between the company and the Aboriginal community; implementing cultural awareness activities within the organization; involvement in strategic planning for recruitment; and the retention and promotion of Aboriginal employees (Personal Interview with Aboriginal Relations Manager, 1996).

6.2.4.5 Aboriginal Circle

The Aboriginal Circle was initiated in 1996 by the Calgary Aboriginal Relations manager and provides a safe and confidential outlet for Telus's Aboriginal employees. This support group meets on a monthly basis to discuss personal and professional issues. The format for the meeting is a traditional talking circle in which each person is able to speak about issues concerning him or her about experiences in the organization. Each person speaks uninterrupted for as long as it takes to explain the situation and how he or she feels about it. During this time others in the circle listen patiently. Confidentiality is given to any issues mentioned in the circle. One Telus employee said, "The circle is very important to me because it gives me, and other Aboriginal employees, an outlet to voice our concerns. Issues can be raised in an informal and supportive environment. It gives me someplace to go" (Personal Interview with Telus Employee, 1996).

6.2.4.0 Special Initiatives for Achieving Workplace Equity

6.2.4.1 Aboriginal Internship Program

The Aboriginal Internship Program was implemented at Telus Corporation in 1995. The Aboriginal Internship's Program (as administered by the Canadian Council of Aboriginal Business) has a mandate "to work cooperatively with Aboriginal organizations, corporations and public sector organizations to build mutually beneficial Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relationships" (Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business, 1996, p.1).

The Aboriginal Internship was described in a Price Waterhouse (1993) report commissioned by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business as a program that brings qualified[23] Aboriginal people to work for a one-year training program specific to the particular organization.[24] The intern is given a mentor in the organization who helps him or her settle into the position and the organization. According to the 1996 Annual Employer's Report, three native interns were brought in to the sales and technical areas (AGT, 19967). All three remained with the organization after the term expired. Two were hired as permanent, full-time employees, and the other works on contract (Personal Interview with Aboriginal Relations Manager, 1996).

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[23] Qualified means that the Aboriginal person brought into the organization usually has some form of postsecondary education.

[24] Until 1995 a portion of the intern's salary was covered by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business, with the remainder paid by the participating

6.2.4.1.1Ramifications of the Aboriginal Internship Program Special Initiative

The Aboriginal Internship Program is a way for Aboriginal people to "get a foot in the door" with companies who are members of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB). The CCAB plays a role in assisting companies in fulfilling their Employment Equity obligations by providing trained Aboriginals. A review of the Aboriginal Internship Program showed it to have both advantages and disadvantages.

The Aboriginal Internship Program provides a "safe and low-risk" option for the acquisition of Aboriginal employees. The program is safe for the employer because the Aboriginal employee is "pre-screen" by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business. The Aboriginal Internship Program is selective in its recruits because it wishes to maintain a high percentage of "success stories." Although they are selective in their admission criteria, the Price Waterhouse (1993) report states that approximately 25- 35 % of the Aboriginal people do not complete their one-year term.

The organization and the intern have the option of discontinuing their arrangement at the end of the term. If the organization is unhappy with the intern they do not have to

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organization. Funding to the program was halted by Human Resources Development Canada.

retain him or her indefinitely. The same holds true for the intern. Any intern who is unhappy with the organization has the option to leave at the end of the term. The program offers both the organization and the individual an acceptable way out of a mismatched employment situation.

The Price Waterhouse (1993) report states that the Aboriginal Internship Program provides a vehicle for the first exposure of some companies, and their employees, to Aboriginal people. There is potential to dispel some of the stereotypes that might be held about Aboriginals. If the intern fits in to the work environment and completes the program, perhaps some prejudicial views can be changed. However, if the intern does not fit in, the situation can be viewed as a self-fulfilling prophecy and prejudicial views of Aboriginal people can be even more deeply ingrained. If the latter situation happens, it makes it more difficult for subsequent Aboriginal employees entering this workplace.

The program is a short-term solution to the problem of under representation of Aboriginal people in companies as the program only lasts one year. There is no guarantee of long-term employment to those who complete the program.

6.2.4.2 Involvement in the Aboriginal Community

Telus Corporation has become increasingly involved in events in the Aboriginal community. These include pow-wows, career fairs, trade fairs and conferences. Telus has also become involved in local Aboriginal committees. For example, Telus is involved with the Aboriginal Opportunities Committee with the Calgary Chamber of Commerce. This committee was created in 1980 under the guidance of the late Senator Stan Waters and was "formed with the intent to increase the importance of Native people in the Calgary community in assisting in the development of economic parity with the rest of Calgarians" (Interview with Telus Corporation's Aboriginal Relations Manager, 1997). The committee's mandate evolved and increased to include education, awareness, and business opportunities.

Telus Corporation is an active member of the Calgary Native Awareness Week festivities. This includes hosting receptions, lectures, and presentations focusing on Aboriginal culture, programs, and business development. High-profile Aboriginal speakers are brought in to address timely issues.

Conferences and festivals have benefited from corporate donations. Telus has been a corporate sponsor of the Dreamspeakers Aboriginal Arts and Film festival since it began in 1993. The Canadian Aboriginal Science and Technology Society, an organization that encourages and supports Aboriginal secondary and postsecondary students in sciences, has also received financial support.

Telus is an active member in the Calgary Aboriginal Professional Association, which hosts monthly meetings to encourage Aboriginal professional and service deliverers to network and exchange information.

Although the above-mentioned are public relations activities, they affect the workplace by involving employees in planning and executing these events. Through networking at these events, Telus has the opportunity to recruit employees.

6.2.4.2.1 Ramifications of Special Initiatives

Telus Corporation benefits from its initiatives to increase its profile in the Aboriginal community. It can be seen as a good corporate citizen by sponsoring various Aboriginal events such as the Dreamspeakers Festival while making valuable business contacts in the community. Sponsoring Aboriginal business events such as the Calgary Aboriginal Professionals Association functions increases Telus's profile with both the Aboriginal community and other companies that attend. This gives Telus the opportunity to network with Aboriginal business people and entrepreneurs. This is an opportunity for Telus to connect with potential new customers. After all, businesses need telephones, faxes, cell phones, and pagers.

Involvement with secondary and postsecondary career fairs introduces the organization to potential employees. Students may be persuaded to enter training that would result in future employment with the organization. Telus Corporation may be seen as an organization that wishes to employ more Aboriginal people.

6.2.5.0 Measures of Success

The effectiveness and efficiency of the organization's Employment Equity efforts can be measured on a variety of indices. The following are some, but not an exhaustive list, of indictors that can show improvements in Aboriginal employee representation. I apply the following criteria to the companies involved in this case study: employee totals, Employment Equity assessment of employer's results, cultural awareness, length of employment, declining Aboriginal employee turnover rates, promotion of Aboriginal employees, and diversity in employment.

6.2.5.1 Employee Totals

One measure of success is the total number of Aboriginal employees with the organization. Numbers of Aboriginal employees at Telus have declined steadily since it began filing Annual Employer Reports in 1992.

Downsizing has caused the Telus Corporation workforce to shrink dramatically. Annual Employer's Reports show that the overall workforce decreased by approximately 36%, going from 9,558 in 1992 to 6,130 in 1995. The Aboriginal employee representation at Telus Corporation decreased by 39%, declining from 85 in 1992 to 52 in 1995.

The 1991 Census of Canada placed Aboriginals as 2.7% of the Alberta population.[25] If this organization were to attempt parity with the population it would have to employ many more Aboriginal employees. For Telus to have Aboriginal employees as 2.7% of its workforce it would have to employ 196 Aboriginal employees, which would quadruple its existing Aboriginal workforce.

6.2.5.1.1 Increase Percentage in Employee Population.

To gain representation in the workforce members of designated groups must increase their proportion of the overall workforce. This is achieved by hiring more Aboriginal employees and retaining the existing ones. This has not occurred for Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation. Telus's downsizing activities have reduced the overall number of employees; unfortunately, no representational gain was experienced by Aboriginals. Aboriginal people were lost to downsizing at a greater rate than non-Aboriginals, although this is not to say that these Aboriginal employees did not leave the organization voluntarily through buy-out packages or early retirement incentives.

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[25] Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada places Alberta's total population at 2,519,180. It places Alberta's Aboriginal population at 68,445. Aboriginals are 2.7% of the Alberta population (Statistics Canada ,1993b).

The representation of Aboriginal employees as a percentage of the overall Telus Corporation workforce has remained approximately 0.8% of the general Telus Corporation workforce from 1992 to 1996.

6.2.5.2 Employment Equity Assessment of Employer's Results[26]

The Employment Equity Act Annual Report to Parliament includes a performance assessment on the efforts made to achieve an equitable workforce for employers involved in the LEEP. This assessment is based entirely on numerical data contained in the employer's reports.

In its Annual Employer's Reports, Telus Corporation indicates that it uses the rating received from the federal government to gauge its achievement in gaining representation for the four designated groups. The federal government's assessment of Telus Corporation appear Table 6.2, beginning in 1992 because Telus Corporation's inclusion under the Employment Equity Act was not determined until 1991.

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[26] Each employer covered under the Employment Equity Act is listed by its legal name with its assessment results by designed group. Two results are given for each designated group with "A" and "a" the highest and "C" and "c" the lowest. The first letter ranking reflects the situation of the designated group in the organization's workforce at the end of the reporting years. It shows whether designated group members are disadvantaged -- in their representation, occupational distribution, and salary distribution -- in an organization's workforce. The second letter ranking reflects the progress of the designated groups in increasing representation and the number and share of promotions.

Table 6.2. Telus Corporation Assessment of Employer's Results 1991-1995

Year	Total Employees*	Women	Aboriginals	Disabled Persons	Visible Minorities
1991	11,897	Ba	Bc	Ac	Aa
1992	11,163	Ba	Bb	Ac	Aa
1993	9,603	BA	CC	BC	BA
1994	7,858	BA	BB	BC	BA
1995	7,213	BA	BC	BC	BC

Source: Employment Equity Act Annual Reports, 1988-1995.
* Includes full and part-time employees.

On the first letter of the two-letter pair (see footnote 26) the data show that Aboriginal people are on par with women but below the disabled and visible minorities with regard to representation, occupational distribution, and salary distribution. The second indicator shows that Aboriginal people are below women and visible minorities but on par or ahead of the disabled with regard to increasing representation and the number and share of promotions. In Chapter 5 it was found that Aboriginal people were receiving promotions commensurate with their representation in the Employment Equity workforce (EEW). An analysis of the promotion rates for Aboriginal employees at Telus is provided later in this section.

Overall, Telus's efforts toward Aboriginals have scored worse than their efforts toward the other designed groups for every year reported except 1995, when Aboriginal people scored on a par with the disabled and visible minorities but below women.

6.2.5.2 Cultural Awareness (Internal Education)

Telus Corporation has offered cultural awareness classes for supervisors and other organization employees since 1996. This program is designed for supervisors and other Telus

Corporation personnel to understand the cultural differences between Aboriginal employees and mainstream society. The program includes the use of Elders, Aboriginal advisors, and community members to create an understanding between the organization and the community.

Telus Corporation reports that over 36 executives, directors, and managers have participated in this program (AGT Corporation, 1997). It is not mandatory, but it is hoped that this program will help improve relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. A three-day workshop is currently being planned for executives and managers at the Peigan First Nation in southern Alberta. It is expected that sessions will include negotiations with chiefs and council and a workshop on the Aboriginal decision-making process (Personal Interview with Aboriginal Relations Manager, 1997).

6.2.5.3 Length of Employment.

I was unable to determine the average length of employment for Aboriginal employees in Telus. The longest period of employment for the employees I interviewed was 20.8 years while the most recently hired was employed for 0.3 years. Seniority is important to employees because of the understanding that those with longer service should be given preference in employment (Dulude, 1995). Aboriginal employees who have proven themselves reliable through their length of service earn the right to training opportunities.

6.2.5.4 Declining Aboriginal Employee Turnover Rates

Telus Corporation reports that the turnover rate for Aboriginal employees has declined significantly over the past three years but did not specify by how much. The 1996 employee turnover rate for non-Aboriginal employees was 6% and at 11% for Aboriginal employees. The turnover rate for Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation is 83% higher than for non-Aboriginal employees.

6.2.5.5 Promotion of Aboriginal Employees

Telus Corporation reports that there were two promotions of Aboriginal clerical workers in 1995, both women. The report does not indicate whether the promotion moved these women out of the clerical occupational category or simply elevated their status within that stratum.

6.2.5.6 Diversity in Employment

Telus Corporation records show that the vast majority of the Aboriginal employees are in the lower occupational groups. Further, more Aboriginal employees are employed as clerical than in any other job at Telus Corporation. The 1996 Annual Employer's Report shows that the two new hirings were clerical workers. This does not indicate a diversity of employment for Aboriginal people at Telus Corporation. If Aboriginal employees were integrated into the organization one would expect them to be distributed throughout the organization especially, as some of the Aboriginal employees have been with the organization for over 20 years.

6.2.6 TELUS's Employment Profile

Men are the majority of Telus workers numbering 3,483 or 57%, whereas women number 2,647 or 43% of the workforce (AGT, 1997). The 1995 Telus Corporation full-time, permanent workforce is shown in Table 6.2, which shows that the majority of Telus employees are clerical workers numbering 1,850, (30% of Telus's workforce). This is followed by skilled craft and trades workers with 1,700 members which is 28% of the Telus workforce. Telus's Employment Equity Annual Report (1996a) shows that clerical workers are primarily women. In fact, only 58 or 3% of Telus's clerical workers are male. This report also shows that males dominate the skilled craft and trades workers category with 1,677 of 1,700 or approximately 99% representation.

Telus has undergone a massive restructuring process, and the workforce declined from approximately 10,000 in 1991. Some were offered early retirement options or buy-out packages, and there were 367 were part of a voluntary separation program offered by Telus.

Table 6.3. Full-time Telus Employees by Occupational Level, 1995

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper-Level Management	20	3.3
Middle or Other Management	515	8.4
Professionals	855	13.9
Semi Professionals/Technicians	493	8.0
Supervisors	8	0.1
Foremen/women	86	1.4
Clerical Workers	1,850	30.2
Sales Workers	449	7.2
Service Workers	--	--
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	1,700	27.7
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	151	2.4
Other Manual Workers	3	0.05
Total	6,130	100*

Source: Telus Corporation Employment Equity Information, 1996c.

* may not total 100 due to rounding.

6.2.6.1 Aboriginal Employment Profile

In 1995 the Telus Corporation employee population stood at 6,130 of whom 52 or 0.7% were Aboriginal. The 1991 Census of Canada placed Aboriginals as 2.7% of the Alberta population.[27] If this organization were to attempt parity with the population they would have to employ many more Aboriginal people. As of June 30, 1996 Telus Corporation's Aboriginal employees were listed as full-time (52) with no part-time, seasonal, or temporary employees.

Tables 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 show the statistics for full-time Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation from 1991 to 1995. The tables include information on the total number of Telus Corporation's Aboriginal employees, the hirings, terminations, and promotions. The information was obtained from the Annual Employer's Reports submitted to the Employment Equity Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada by Telus Corporation. Table 6.4 gives the aggregate statistics for full-time Aboriginal employees while; Tables 6.5 and 6.6 show female and male populations respectively

Table 6.4 shows Telus Corporation's LEEP Annual Employer's Report Statistics for full-time employees from 1991 to 1995.[28]

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[27] Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada places Alberta's total population at 2,519,180. It places Alberta's Aboriginal population at 68,445. Aboriginals are 2.7% of the Alberta population.

[28] Statistics are not available from 1987 to 1990 because the organization's qualification for the program was as yet undetermined.

Table 6.4. Telus Corporation Annual Employer's Report Statistics, 1991-1995

	Full-Time Aboriginal Employees				
Year	**Employee**	**Hires**	**Terminations**	**Change**	**Promotions**
1991	94	0	0	0	3
1992	85	0	9	<9>	7
1993	67	0	18	<18>	1
1994	55	0	12	<12>	7
1995	52	2	5	<3>	2
Total		2	44	<42>	20

Source: Telus Corporation: Annual Employer's Report., 1991-1995.

Table 6.4 shows that the number of full-time Aboriginal employees has declined from 94 in 1991 to 52 in 1995, a decrease of 45% in a four year period. The 42 employee terminations that took place during this time may have been voluntary (early retirement or buy-out package) or involuntary (dismissed or laid off). There is no indiction in the record about how these people left the organization, although an Employment Equity consultant with Human Resources Development Canada stated that people would qualify as terminated in they quit, were laid off, did not have their contracts renewed, or were fired. During the period under review, Telus Corporation terminated 4,537 permanent, full-time employees. Aboriginal employees were approximately 1.0% of those terminated, which exceeds their proportional representation in the organization.

The record also shows that only two Aboriginal employees were hired in a four year period. The change column indicates that there are 42 fewer Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation in 1996 than in 1992. This decrease in Aboriginal employees occurred when Telus Corporation was bound by an agreement with the federal government to increase its representation of Aboriginal employees. During the period under review, Telus Corporation hired 518 permanent, full-time employees, of whom 0.4% were Aboriginal. Data show that nondesignated group males were 61% of the newly hired people at Telus, and women were 32%. This means that Aboriginals, visible minorities and disabled people were 7% of the newly hired employees at Telus Corporation over the past five years.

The record shows 20 promotions given to Aboriginal employees during the period under examination. The largest number were received in 1993 and 1995. During the period under review, Telus Corporation promoted 2,170 permanent, full-time employees. Aboriginal employees, and approximately 0.9% of those promoted.

Table 6.5 shows Telus Corporation's LEEP Annual Employer's Report Statistics for full-time female Aboriginal employees from 1991 to 1995, and shows that numbers have decreased from 52 in 1992 to 35 in 1995, a decrease of 33% in a four year period.

Table 6.5. Telus Corporation Annual Employer's Report Statistics for Female Aboriginal Employees

	Full-Time Female Aboriginal Employees				
Year	**Employees**	**Hires**	**Terminations**	**Change**	**Promotions**
1991	52	0	0	0	3
1992	48	0	4	<4>	4
1993	44	0	4	<4>	0
1994	38	0	6	<6>	5
1995	35	2	5	<3>	2
Total		2	19	<17>	14

Source: Telus Corporation: Annual Employer's Reports., 1991-1995.

The 19 employee terminations that occurred during this time may have been voluntary (early retirement or buy-out package) or involuntary (dismissed). The record also shows that only two new Aboriginal people hired in a five year period. The change column indicates 17 fewer female Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation in 1995 than in 1991.

This decline in the number of Aboriginal employees occurred when Telus Corporation was bound by an agreement with the federal government to increase its representation of Aboriginal employees.

Table 6.6 shows Telus Corporation's LEEP Annual Employer's Report Statistics for full-time male employees from 1991 to 1995. It shows that the number of male Aboriginal employees has declined from 42 in 1992 to 17 in 1995, a decrease of 60% in a five-year period. The 25 employee terminations that occurred during this time may have been voluntary (early retirement or buy-out package) or involuntary (fired). There is no indiction in the record about how these people left the organization.

Table 6.6. Telus Corporation Employer's Annual Report Statistics for Male Aboriginal Employees

	Full-time Male Aboriginal Employees				
Year	**Employees**	**Hires**	**Terminations**	**Change**	**Promotions**
1991	42	0	0	0	0
1992	37	0	5	<5>	3
1993	23	0	14	<14>	1
1994	17	0	6	<6>	2
1995	17	0	0	0	0
Total		0	25	<25>	6

Source: Telus Corporation: Annual Employer's Reports, 1991-1995.

The record also shows that no male Aboriginal employees were hired in a four year period. The change column indicates 25 fewer male Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation in 1996 than in 1992.

6.2.7.0 Summary

Telus Corporation's Aboriginal Employment Program is one of the newest under review. It has some new, but innovative, programs in place. For example, the Aboriginal Circle is unique[29] to Telus. Cultural Awareness Training was started with the organization through the Aboriginal Relations Office. Stereotypes about Aboriginals are prevalent at Telus according to employees interviewed for this study, and some racism is overt. For example, an Aboriginal person who had just completed an organization-sponsored training course was brought into the supervisor's office and asked, "What the hell she thought she was doing. She was 'only' an Indian and would never go anywhere in the organization" (Personal Interview with Telus employee, 1997). Some racist episodes are thoughtless attempts at humour. One such incident occurred when a group of managers got together for a brain storming session. Things were moving slowly until one person suggested that they play "Indian Poker" to liven things up. This person went on to explain that "Indian Poker" involves everybody guzzling four or five beer (Personal Interview with Telus employee, 1996). The Aboriginal employee present was angry and hurt. Other non-Aboriginals in the room were sympathetic and embarrassed.

Some co-workers were said to be insensitive to others not like themselves. Perhaps some of the Aboriginal people left because they viewed the company as having an unwelcoming work environment. One of my interviewees said that his or her supervisor would not authorize a long-distance telephone call to complete an interview for this study. Some of my interviewees described the work environment as hostile.

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[29] Unique means not implemented at any other organization under review.

Like other organizations, Telus has experienced downsizing, which makes it critical to employ efficient workers. Telus speaks to the need for "qualified" Aboriginal employees who require a minimum education or job-related experience level before they can gain employment.

Perhaps one of the best measures of success is the total number of Aboriginal employees in the general workforce. Telus employed 52 Aboriginal employees in 1995 and Aboriginal employees were 0.7% of its workforce. To achieve parity with Alberta's Aboriginal population Telus would have to increase its Aboriginal workforce to 196 individuals. Only 2 Aboriginal people were hired at Telus Corporation in the past five years, and approximately half of its Aboriginal employees have left the organization. No attempts have been made to replace these employees or to increase the representation of Aboriginal employees in the organization.

Although employee numbers are important, one must also look at the types of jobs being performed by the Aboriginal employees. Few have ever been in the managerial category at Telus, and more than half, 28 of 52 or 54%, are clerical workers. Aboriginals were absent from the two highest occupational groups.

Employment diversity is a prudent business move. The customer base is more culturally diverse than it once was. For example, the Aboriginal community is now being viewed as a viable client market. The Aboriginal Relations Manager has told the executive that certain procedures must be executed to make inroads into the community, and the organization has entertained some of these suggestions.

The entry level qualifications at Telus have risen over the years. Most recently hired employees have a university degree. The rationale was that Aboriginal people could not hope to progress through the organization unless minimal criteria were met. Nevertheless, these people are being under employed in entry-level, sales, or clerical positions.

The program is more than just one person. The Aboriginal Relations Manager cannot change the mindset of an entire organization. As in, most companies the senior executive support Employment Equity initiatives, but middle managers, often do not fulfil the mandate.[30]

Opportunities for Aboriginal people at Telus appear limited. Most employees are clerical workers or craft workers, and there is little diversity among Aboriginal employees. Most people I interviewed at Telus said they worked in isolation from other Aboriginal people saying they were the only Aboriginal person in their department. The sense of isolation was problematic for some because they would like to have the support of other Aboriginal employees but are unable to obtain it outside the Aboriginal Circle. However, another Aboriginal employee did not feel that he or she needed the support of other Aboriginal people because "I can stand on my own two feet."

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[30] Telus employees who were interested in participating in this research were asked to contact me by the Employment Equity Manager. One person called and asked me to call him/her at home in the evening. This employee said he or she asked the manager to authorize the long-distance phone call and the manager refused. The employee said he or she was afraid to speak to anybody about Aboriginal initiatives at work because her or her boss "would go through the roof because he was 'sick of that Indian stuff.'" He told the employee to "get it straight --we are here to work."

Telus Corporation has some innovative programs, it will take time to see what impact, if any, they will have on the Telus workforce. Although Telus has policies and procedures in place to increase the number of designated group members, they are not yet fruitful. In the case of Aboriginal employees, Telus has terminated almost half its Aboriginal employee population in the five years under study. Only two of the 518 new recruits are Aboriginal. Nondesignated group men and women were 93% of the new recruits in an organization where these groups are already over represented and continue to increase.

It does not seem that this organization is truly interested in the ethic of Employment Equity. I was amazed to find that a telecommunications organization did not yet have a telephone installed in one of its Aboriginal Affairs offices, an indication that this initiative does not have a high priority with the organization. I suspect that Telus is interested in the image of a "equity-friendly" environment and in the business generated in the Aboriginal community but is preoccupied with the other matters.

THE CANADIAN IMPERIAL BANK OF COMMERCE (CIBC)

6.3.0 Introduction

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) represents[31] the finance sector in this study of Employment Equity.

6.3.1 Corporate Profile

The CIBC is a highly diversified Canadian financial services organization operating on a global basis and one of North America's largest financial institutions (CIBC, 1996). The personal and commercial banking provides a full range of financial products and services to six million individuals and businesses across Canada (CIBC, 1996:1).

The CIBC was founded in 1867 (CIBC, 1995b). It is the second largest financial services organization in Canada and among the 10 largest in North America (Personal Interview, CIBC Manager, 1997). It has over 1,600 offices, branches, agencies, and subsidiaries around the world with the majority being in Canada. Employees work in diverse areas such as branch banking, national and international investments, management, information systems, and technical support (Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, 1995).

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce is a widely held public corporation (CIBC, 1996a). Through its subsidiaries, the CIBC managed $218 billion in assets in 1997 (Personal Interview, CIBC Manager, 1997). Its headquarters are in Toronto, Ontario.

The banking industry is in a state of great transition due to new and rapidly advancing technology, including automated banking machines and telebanking (CIBC,

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[31] The CIBC represents the finance sector in this study only. There is no insinuation that this organization is typical of all financial institutions.

1996). Increased competition and federal deregulation of the banking industry have affected the industry greatly since the mid 1980s. The CIBC began downsizing activities in 1992.

6.3.1.1 Corporate Structure

The CIBC is a diverse, multilevel bureaucracy. It is headed by a Chairman and Chief Executive Officer (CEO); with a President of CIBC Wood Gundy; CIBC Development Corporation; and a president of personal and commercial banking (CIBC, 1996a). The corporate centre has a chairman and chief executive officer (CEO); nine executive vice-presidents (risk management, human resources, administration, corporate governance, information officer, strategic planning, large corporate risk management and market risk management) and 17 senior vice-presidents (market risk management, administration and finance, credit risk, investment grade, corporate communications, consumer credit, credit quality, and portfolio management, special loans, mid-market commercial real estate, taxation and administration, special loans risk management, risk capital attribution project, chief purchasing officer, compliance corporate governance, chief inspector corporate governance, and controller administration and finance (CIBC, 1996a).

The CIBC development corporation has a president and five senior vice-presidents (leasing and business development, corporate real estate, property management, investment and development, and chief financial officer (CIBC, 1996b). CIBC Woody Gundy has a president and a senior executive vice-president for risk management (CIBC, 1996b).

Personal and commercial banking has a vice-president and five executive vice-presidents (commercial banking, customer segments, delivery network, operations and technology, personal lending products) and 25 senior vice-presidents.

CIBC's Mission Statement is: "Our goal is to be the pre-eminent Canadian financial services organization".

6.3.2 Background

The CIBC has been a part of the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) since 1987. It filed its first Annual Employer's Report in 1988 to report the year ending December 31, 1987.

This banking industry, like most others in Canada, has recognized the changes in Canadian demographics and wishes to change its workforce to reflect those changes. The Canadian Banker's Association (1994) writes:

> The Canadian workforce has been changing dramatically. Immigration and differing birth rates among various segments of the population are making Canada more culturally diverse than ever before. (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994, p.7)

This situation is explored in a CIBC (1996b) publication, which refers to the source of the future workforce. It reads:

> Our future workforce will come from non-traditional sources -- it will be multi-racial with a significant female component. Employers will also have to look at the groups within society which have been traditionally overlooked: people with disabilities and Aboriginal people. With many employers to choose from, the skilled worker of the future will be attracted to the organization that not only has the best job to offer but also has a prevailing attitude of fairness in the work environment. (CIBC, 1996b. p. 5)

The source of the future workforce and the increasing number of nonwestern Europeans in Canada has caused the CIBC to expand its efforts toward people who are under represented in their workforce.

6.3.3 Programs

The CIBC (1996b) recognizes that "certain groups in Canadian society encounter barriers to full participation in the workforce that have nothing to do with their ability (p. 4) and has initiated many programs to help correct this situation.

6.3.3.1 Equity Principles

The CIBC has an ongoing commitment to equal employment opportunity that predates Canada's Employment Equity legislation. In 1991 the chief executive officer of the CIBC reaffirmed the bank's commitment to Employment Equity by approving a set of principles to guide its direction in achieving the goals of Employment Equity. These specifically set out principles for hiring and promotion, fair representation, accessibility in the workforce, and reasonable job accommodation (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994). These principles read:

Equity Principles for CIBC

- CIBC is committed to the principles of performance and capability as the key criteria for hiring and promotion. Regardless of gender, disability, visible minority or Aboriginal status, individuals need to be given the opportunity to make the best use of their talents.
- CIBC is committed to the principles of fair representation of the designated target groups at all levels of the organizations and will undertake special measures and programs to effect such representation.
- CIBC is committed to a program to ensure accessibility in the workplace.
- CIBC is committed to the achievement of reasonable job accommodations in order that individuals are able to contribute fully to their own and CIBC's goals.
- CIBC will ensure its values, policies and practices reflect these principles (CIBC, 1986, p. 1).

These principles serve as the basis for many of the Employment Equity initiatives undertaken by the organization and its employees. The organization has mobilized its workforce to make each employee responsible for implementing and ensuring the success of this program. The Canadian Bankers' Association Report (1994) states:

> At CIBC, over 6,000 employees from all levels throughout the bank form a network of volunteers in order to assist Employment Equity activities across the organization. There are also approximately 24 employment equity committees across the country whose members may include local branch managers district managers, directors, and usually a human resources staff person. They meet on a regular basis to review policy initiatives, coordinate work terms for target groups members, publish newsletters, undertake surveys and address accessibility issues. (p. 17)

6.3.3.2 Self-Identification Workplace Surveys

The CIBC conducted two voluntary self-identification surveys. The first, in 1986, was designed to exceed the statistical reporting requirements of the Employment Equity Act (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994). The bank undertook a number of communication initiatives with staff such as notices in office circulars and notices on bulletin boards to inform them of the survey and declared "E (enumeration) " day. The survey was distributed to department and branch managers, who then conducted staff meetings where employees completed the survey forms. Results showed that the bank needed to hire more Aboriginals.

The second survey was conducted in 1991. Staff were surveyed to track progress more accurately in achieving a representative workforce at both national and community levels (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994). This was accompanied by a CIBC produced pamphlet entitled "Fairness in the Workplace: Questions and Answers about Employment

Equity and the Employment Equity Survey," which answered some of the more frequent asked questions about Employment Equity including why the employees should respond.

This follow-up survey had two purposes: first to give the CIBC a "snapshot" of its workforce to determine the effectiveness of its existing efforts (CIBC, 1991) and, second, to give administration a benchmark to determine whether the CIBC employed members of the designated groups commensurate with local demographics.

Survey results showed that most Aboriginal employees worked in support positions. Aboriginal representation in professional and middle manager levels had doubled between 1987 and 1992. My data showed 1,508 (0.9%) Aboriginal people employed at the bank, which is "significantly lower than the 1991 labour force participation rate of 3.0%" (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994, p.9).

6.3.3.3 Guidelines, Handbooks, and Help Lines

The CIBC has developed publications[32] to assist managers to deal with Employment Equity issues such as recruitment, staffing, harassment in the workplace, and flexible work arrangements. For example, the *Manager's Guide to Employment Equity* (CIBC, 1992b) provides implementation guidelines for those responsible for executing the program. It discusses issues of staffing process by stating that things have changed:

> For a long time Canadian business used a set of rules to determine what successful candidates looked like, what sort of schools they attended and what country their ancestors came from. Such measures had the unintentional effect of screening out Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, women and visible minorities. While many had the skill to be successful, they did not

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[32] CIBC produced many publications including: *Manager's Guidelines on Harassment-free Employment, Manager's Guide to Work and Lifestyle Options, and Manager's Guide to Career Development* (CIBC, 1994).

> fit the typical picture. ... Employment equity is about giving people the opportunity to prove their abilities (p. 10).

A manager's telephone help line entitled "For Your Benefit Line Management Support Service," was created to help managers obtain fast and accurate answers to information including Employment Equity questions (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994). This and other publications produced by the bank were useful in helping CIBC employees deal with Employment Equity issues in their workplace.

6.3.4 Special Initiatives for Achieving Workplace Equity

The bank is seeking to develop and strengthen linkages with Aboriginal communities for the purpose of offering Aboriginal people career opportunities at CIBC (1995b). The CIBC has undertaken a number of programs to increase the representation of Aboriginal employees in its ranks.

6.3.4.1 Aboriginal Summer Intern Program

The Summer Intern Program, started in 1991, is one element of the bank's long-term strategy to encourage and foster interest among Aboriginal people about career choices at CIBC (CIBC, 1995b). It offers work experience and on-the-job training to summer students from six universities in Ontario and Atlantic Canada. Candidates are selected on the basis of their academic performance, general interest, and aptitude for success within the banking industry (CIBC, 1995b). Each student is matched with a mentor who provides him or her with feedback about his or her performance. The program for returning students is structured to provide progressively more challenging tasks to ensure growth and development .

At the end of the summer, students who have completed the term and achieved an acceptable level of performance are granted scholarships of up to $1,000. Those who perform satisfactorily are encouraged to return after graduation (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994). Student employees performance is evaluated periodically throughout the summer, and these records can be used to monitor and evaluate the student.

6.3.4.1.1Ramifications of the Aboriginal Intern Program Special Initiative

The number of students participating in and completing this program has increased since its inception in 1991, and participation has increased from six in 1991 to 37 in 1994. The program is beneficial to Aboriginal students because it allows them to prove themselves in a short-term program. Students experience the banking industry, a career option they might not have previously considered.

The Aboriginal Interns Program provides the CIBC with a low cost and low risk option for the acquisition of Aboriginal employees. The program is safe for the employer because the Aboriginal employees are pre-screened for suitability by the employer, and low-risk because both the organization and the intern have the option of discontinuing their arrangement at the end of the term.

The program is a short-term solution to the problem of under representation of Aboriginal people in the CIBC as it has a four-month duration. There is no guarantee that those finishing the program will be offered long-term employment upon graduation. If interns are not offered long-term employment at the end of the term, then nothing is gained as far as increasing the number of Aboriginal employees within the CIBC. However, the intern is still able to benefit from the program because he or she has gained work experience and job skills that can be transferred to another employer.

6.3.4.2 Social Services Partnership

This nine-month Personal Banking Representative (teller) training course program ran for two terms. The programs were a joint effort between Alberta Social Services, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, and Human Resources Development Canada's Pathways to the Future Program. The program participants were Social Assistance recipients. During their training, Social Services continued to support them for 7.5 of the 9 month program. The CIBC paid them (at the same rate as social services) for the remaining 1.5 months. Any extraneous expenses such as a clothing allowance were absorbed by Human Resources Development Canada's Pathways to the Future Program. The program had to be flexible in order to accommodate some of the personal and family issues[33] existing for the participants.

The first program began in 1994 in Edmonton with 14 individuals, 10 of whom graduated (Personal Interview with CIBC representative, 1997). The program focused on life skills, CIBC values, technical and product training, and on-the-job training. The CIBC provided the training curriculum, facilities, workplace experience, and positions throughout Alberta and the Northwest Territories (CIBC, 1995).

The second program focused on an individual rather than a group setting. This on-the-job training program saw individuals trained at branches throughout northern Alberta[34] and focused on many of the same issues as the group program in Edmonton (Personal conversation with CIBC manager, 1997).

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[33] Personal and family issues included child care and transportation issues. The CIBC presentative stated that Alberta Social Services was "scrambling" to assist the participants meet needs to allow them to attend the program.

[34] Sites for in the second program include Lac La Biche, Peace River, High Level, Fairview, Whitecourt, High Prairie, and Beaverlodge.

6.3.4.2.1 Ramifications of Social Services Partnership Special Initiative

The program was an innovative initiative created by CIBC management that was able to produce quantifiable results (Aboriginal people with bank training). The program worked in theory, but unforeseen issues made program implementation more difficult. Not all of those who completed the program were hired by the CIBC upon completion. "It is hard to absorb 10 people at one time -- especially when the organization is not hiring" said a CIBC representative. In addition, not all positions were offered in the Edmonton area and people were unwilling to move.

However, the program did provide employment and a career for some participants. It was an opportunity for these people to gain portable skills and experience to help them obtain work with another financial institution. However, it was difficult for some Social Assistance recipients to overcome some of their personal issues (such as an unstable family life) in a short-term program. Single parenthood, child care, and transportation are recurring barriers that make it difficult for a participant to succeed. In addition, the CIBC obtained the person's services free for 7.5 months and covered salaries of these individuals for only 1.5 months of a nine-month program

6.3.4.3 Career Planning and Development

Careers are developed in partnership between the bank and the employee. "Employees are encouraged to take responsibility for managing their own careers through self-assessment and continuous learning" (Canadian Banker's Association, 1994, p. 109).

Previously, career planning the responsibility of the Human Resources Department. The CIBC says this move has contributed to the bank's equity objectives by:

1. Fairness and equity are the foundation upon which the career development system is built. These values are built into the policies and processes, and into the design of support materials.
2. Open staffing ensures that all individuals have equal opportunities to information on job vacancies and fair access to job opportunities.
3. All employees have equal access to career development materials and career consultants (Canadian Bankers Association, 1994, p. 109).

The cornerstone of CIBC's commitment to an equitable career development system is the open staffing policy, which ensures that all employees are given equal opportunity to express interest in jobs as soon as they become available (Canadian Bankers Association, 1994, p.109). The bank provides resource materials, including a career planning workbook, to assist the employee in planning his or her career path.

6.3.4.3.1Ramifications of Career Planning and Development Special Initiative

This program places career decisions in the hands of the employee, assuming that the person is already an employee in the organization. It does not help those who are trying to gain access to employment.

6.3.5 Measures of Success

The effectiveness and efficiency of the organization's Employment Equity efforts can be measured on a variety of indices. These indicators show the companies' success toward building a more equitable workforce.

6.3.5.1 Employee Totals

One measure of success that can used is the total number of Aboriginal employees in the bank. The CIBC has steadily reduced its number of Aboriginal full-time employee since 1987. This could be due to downsizing, but it may also be due to banks not replacing the Aboriginal employees who have been terminated. This is interesting as the banking industry data recorded in Chapter 5 recorded a 78.9% increase over the same period.

If the CIBC's goal is to have its Aboriginal employees equal their local representation, it must hire more Aboriginals. The 1991 Census of Canada cites Aboriginal people as 3.7% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 1993a). Based on its 1994 full-time employee population of 24,482,[35] to gain parity with the Canadian Aboriginal population the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) would have to increase its Aboriginal employee population to 906. The number of full-time Aboriginal employees in the CIBC workforce (nationally) currently stands at 237[36] individuals or approximately 1% (CIBC, 1995a).

To gain equitable representation in the workforce Aboriginals must increase their proportion of the overall workforce. This goal is achieved through a combination of hiring more Aboriginal employees while retaining the existing employees, which was done by the

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[35] The 1994 employee figure was obtained from CIBC (1995a).

[36] I question the validity of these figures. The Aboriginal employee statistics provided by the CIBC do not add up. Totals should be consistent over the years, and this is not the case with these data. I have spoken to people at HRDC about the authenticity of the figures and to try to get an explanation for the discrepancies. I did not get a response. I then spoke with the Employment Equity Advisor at CIBC in Toronto who said that sometimes the numbers add up and sometimes they do not.

CIBC. The CIBC's downsizing activities reduced the overall number of employees, which resulted in a representational gain by Aboriginals, that is full-time non-Aboriginal employees were lost to downsizing at a greater rate than Aboriginals.

The representation of Aboriginal employees as a percentage of the overall CIBC workforce has increased from 0.7% in 1988 to 1.0 % in 1994.

6.3.5.2 Cultural Awareness

The CIBC does not appear to have a Cultural Awareness Program designed specifically for Aboriginal people. With the exception of organization publications that mention some of the differences between members of the designated groups and "mainstream" society, there is nothing to help staff understand Aboriginal people.

6.3.5.3 Employment Equity Assessment of Employer's Results[37]

The Employment Equity Act Annual Report to Parliament includes a performance assessment on the efforts taken to achieve an equitable workforce for employers involved in the LEEP. This assessment is based entirely on numerical data contained in the employer's reports.

The CIBC indicates that it uses ratings received from the federal government as a means of gauging its achievement. The assessment is as follows. The letter rankings began with the 1987 Employment Equity Act Annual Report. Table 6.7 shows the CIBC's Employer's assessment given by Human Resources Development Canada.

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[37] See Note 26 for assessment criteria.

Table 6.7. Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) Assessment of Employer's Results 1987-1994

Year	Total*	Women	Aboriginals	Disabled Persons	Visible Minorities
1987	40,347	--	--	--	--
1988	41,698	B	C	A	C
1989	44,293	Bb	Cc	Ac	Aa
1990	43,048	Bb	Cc	Ac	Aa
1991	42,871	Bb	Bb	Ac	Aa
1992	41888	Bc	Bc	Ac	Aa
1993	43,471	BC	CC	BC	AA
1994	40,951	BC	CC	BB	AB
1995	35,682	BB	CC	BC	AB

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Reports to Parliament*, 1987 (Cat. No.MP1-4-/1988), 1988 (Cat. No.MP1-4/ 1989), 1989 (Cat. No.MP1-4/1990), 1990 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1991), 1991 (Cat. No. MP1-4/1992), 1992 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1993), 1993 (Cat. No. MP 31-5/1994), 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995), 1995 (Cat. No. MP31-5/1996), 1996 (Cat. No. LT-020-12-96)

* includes full and part-time.

The data show that CIBC's efforts toward Aboriginals have not exceeded those shown to the other designed groups. Aboriginal people have been in the lowest position (this position was shared for two years with women and one year with visible minorities) for all years under review. The federal government's assessment of the CIBC's performance to improve the representation, occupational distribution, salary distribution, and promotions for Aboriginals has been poorer than that of the other groups. The highest rating the CIBC received for its efforts toward Aboriginal people was in 1992, and the ratings have declined since then. For the last three years under review, the CIBC has received the lowest rating possible from the federal government. There may be more success with visible minorities due to the large number of visible minorities who have settled in the Toronto area where the

CIBC has most of its employees. Approximately 70% of CIBC's employees worked in the Toronto area in 1994.

6.3.5.4 Promotion of Aboriginal Employees

A report supplied by the CIBC states that full-time Aboriginal employees received 38 promotions of in 1994. These were distributed between 13 males and 25 females. The promotions ranged from middle and other managers to clerical workers. There was no information on demotions.

6.3.5.5 Diversity in Employment

The CIBC records show that most of the permanent full-time Aboriginal employees are in clerical occupations. There is some diversity in occupations at CIBC, as full-time Aboriginal employees are found in six of the 12 occupational groups governed by the Employment Equity Act. The highest occupational level obtained by Aboriginal employees is middle and other managers; the lowest is skilled crafts and trades workers. The largest number of Aboriginal employees were clerical workers with 134 or 57%, which is higher than the 48.4% of CIBC's total workforce. Aboriginal employees occupy fewer occupational categories than the other designated groups at CIBC, and there is less occupational diversity for Aboriginal employees than other CIBC employees.

6.3.6 CIBC Employment Profile

In 1994 the CIBC provided employment for approximately 24,482 full-time and 8,725 part-time employees across Canada (CIBC, 1994, Form 3 Part A and Part B). This same year the bulk of the CIBC's labour force was based in Ontario where 20,614 were employed; 14,277 CIBC employees worked in Toronto. Women make up the majority of

CIBC workers, numbering 17,129 of 24,482 or approximately 70% of the permanent full-time workforce.

Table 6.8. Permanent, Full-time CIBC Employees by Occupational Level, 1994

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper-level management	187	0.7
Middle or Other Management	6,466	26.4
Professionals	4,625	18.9
Semi Professionals/Technicians	266	1.1
Supervisors	918	3.7
Foremen/women	--	--
Clerical Workers	11,846	48.4
Sales Workers	67	0.3
Service Workers	23	0.09
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	78	0.3
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	6	0.02
Other Manual Workers	--	--
Total	24,482	100*

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Reports to Parliament*, 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995).
* may not total 100 due to rounding.

The CIBC workforce occupational breakdown is shown in Table 6.8, which shows that the majority of the CIBC employees are clerical workers, numbering 11,846 or 48.4% of CIBC's workforce. This is followed by middle and other managers with 6,466 members, or 26.4% of the workforce. Only 1,771 (15%) of CIBC's clerical workers are male. Clerical workers are 24.4% of CIBC's male workforce; management positions (upper-level managers and middle and other managers) total 3,269 or 45%. This report also shows that males dominate the upper-level manager category with 146 of 187 positions or approximately 78%. The CIBC has undergone a restructuring process and reduced its workforce from 36,309 permanent full-time workers in 1987 to 33,217 in 1994, decline of 3,092 individuals or approximately 9.2%. During corporate restructuring CIBC employees were offered various termination initiatives, and 2,804 permanent full-time employees were terminated in 1994. Records also show that 621 permanent full-time employees were hired at the CIBC in 1994. Promotions were received by 361 employees.

6.3.6.1 CIBC's Aboriginal Employee Profile[38]

Tables 6.9, 6.10, and 6.11 report full-time Aboriginal employment at the CIBC from 1987 to 1994 and include information on the total number of CIBC Aboriginal employees and their hirings, terminations, and promotions. Information was obtained from the Annual Employer's Reports submitted to the Employment Equity Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada by the CIBC.

The CIBC Aboriginal workforce's occupational breakdown for 1994 is shown in

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[38] The data given in the Annual Employer's Reports do not reconcile. The number given as the 1994 Aboriginal employees do not equal the total number of hirings, minus terminations, and the 1987 Aboriginal employees totals. The numbers do not add up during any year under review. I checked totals and numbers three times to ensure that no errors were made in transcription. When I spoke with the Employment Equity Office at CIBC, I was told that they had "never looked at the data that way before" and that they would get back to me which they did not do. After numerous attempts to obtain an explanation I stopped trying. I then contacted the author of the Annual Reports to Parliament and was told by one of their representatives that they do not expect the numbers to add up and to be consistent from year to year. I then explained that the other organization I was analyzing under the program, Telus Corporation, had numbers that reconciled from year to year. The HRDC representative responded that "sometimes the numbers add up and sometimes they don't." I have shown the CIBC data *as reported* by the CIBC Annual Employee Reports.

Table 6.9, which indicates that most of CIBC's Aboriginal employees are clerical workers, numbering 134 or 237 or 57%. This is followed by middle and other managers with 48 or 20%. Aboriginals are absent form the highest occupational level. In fact, Aboriginals are the only members of the designated groups not present in the upper-level managers' category.

Table 6.9. Aboriginal Permanent, Full-time CIBC Employees by Occupational Level, 1994

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper-level management	--	
Middle or Other Management	48	20
Professionals	36	15
Semi Professionals/Technicians	3	1
Supervisors	14	6
Foremen/women	--	--
Clerical Workers	134	57
Sales Workers	--	--
Service Workers	--	--
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	2	1
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	--	--
Other Manual Workers	--	--
Total	237	100

Source: Minister of Supply and Services, *Employment Equity Act Annual Reports to Parliament*, 1994 (Cat. No. MP1-5/1995).

* may not total 100 due to rounding.

Table 6.10 shows the aggregate totals for the CIBC's LEEP Annual Employer's Report statistics for full-time employees from 1987 to 1994 and indicates that numbers of full-time Aboriginal employees increased from 210 in 1987 to 237 in 1995, an increase of approximately 13% in an eight- year period. The 263 employee terminations that took place during this time may have been voluntary (early retirements or buy-out packages) or involuntary (dismissals, contract expirations, or lay-offs). There is no indiction in the record about how these people left the organization. The record also shows that 109 new Aboriginal employees were hired in the eight-year period.

Table 6.10. CIBC: Employer Annual Report Statistics 1987-1994

	Full-time Aboriginal Employees					
Year	**Employees**	**% of CIBC Workforce**	**Hires**	**Terminations**	**Net Change**	**Promotions**
1987	210	0.5	13	27	<14>	55
1988	202	0.5	16	35	<19>	33
1989	194	0.4	17	38	<21>	43
1990	192	0.4	25	36	<11>	50
1991	327	0.7	17	28	<11>	71
1992	292	0.7	7	40	<33>	28
1993	266	0.6	5	18	<13>	37
1994	237	0.6	9	41	<32>	38
Total	--	--	109	263	<154>	355

Source: CIBC: Annual Employer's Reports, 1987-1994.
< > indicates a deficit .

The percentage of CIBC workforce column indicates a slight increase in the Aboriginal employees' representation from 0.5 in 1987 to 0.6 in 1994. The ratio of hirings to terminations from 1987 to 1994 was 1:2.4, which means that for every Aboriginal employee hired by the CIBC, 2.4 Aboriginal people were terminated. This occurred when the CIBC was bound by an agreement with the federal government to increase the number of Aboriginal employees.

The record shows 355 promotions given to Aboriginal employees during the period under examination. The largest number of promotions by Aboriginal people were received in 1991 when 71 promotions were received.

Table 6.11 shows the CIBC's LEEP Annual Employer's Report statistics for full-time female employees from 1987 to 1994, and indicates that the number of full-time female Aboriginal employees increased from 184 in 1987 to 186 in 1994, and insignificant change. There were 197 female Aboriginal employee terminations during this time, which indicates a high employee turnover.

Table 6.11. CIBC: Full-time Female Aboriginal Employees, 1987-1994

	Full-time Female Aboriginal Employees[39]				
Year	**Employees**	**Hiring**	**Terminations**	**Net Change**	**Promotions**
1987	184	12	21	<9>	47
1988	184	14	30	<16>	31
1989	167	11	34	<23>	40
1990	161	18	29	<11>	42
1991	268	6	23	<17>	56
1992	228	3	35	<32>	21
1993	210	5	13	<8>	25
1994	186	5	12	<7>	25
Total	--	74	197	<123>	287

Source: CIBC: Annual Employer's Report., 1987-1994. < > indicates a deficit .

The record also shows that 74 new female Aboriginal employees were hired in the eight-year period. The net change column shows two more indicates that there are 2 more female Aboriginal employees at the CIBC in 1994 than in 1987.

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[39] See Note 38 for explanation

Table 6.12 shows the CIBC's LEEP Annual Employer's Report statistics for full-time male employees from 1987 to 1994, and indicated that the number of male Aboriginal employees increased from 26 in 1987 to 51 in 1994 an increase of 96% in an eight-year period.

Table 6.12. CIBC: Male Aboriginal Employees, 1987-1994

	Full-time Male Aboriginal Employees[40]				
Year	**Employees**	**Hirings**	**Terminations**	**Net Change**	**Promotions**
1987	26	1	6	<5>	8
1988	24	2	5	<3>	2
1989	27	6	4	2	3
1990	31	7	7	--	8
1991	59	11	5	6	15
1992	64	4	5	<1>	7
1993	56	--	5	<5>	12
1994	51	4	29	<25>	13
Total	--	35	66	<31>	68

Source: CIBC: Annual Employer's Report., 1987-1994.
< > indicates a deficit .

There were 66 employee terminations during this time, some of which may have been voluntary (early retirements or buy-out packages) and others involuntary (dismissals, contract expirations, or lay-offs). There is no indiction in the record about how these people left the organization.

The record also shows 35 male Aboriginal employees were hired in an eight-year period, compares with 13,331 hirings for the organization. Aboriginal employees represent 0.3% of the hirings from 1987 to 1994. The data show Aboriginal males received 68 of the 44,137 (or 0.1%) promotions at the CIBC from 1987 to 1994.

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[40] See Note 39 for explanation.

6.3.7.0 Summary

The CIBC began its Employment Equity programs soon after the legislation was enacted and was one of the first companies to submit its Annual Employers Reports to the federal government. Although it has some substantial and innovative programs in place, for example, the Social Services Partnership program, the number of Aboriginal employees at the bank has scarcely changed. Like other companies, the CIBC has downsized, and needs those remaining to be efficient workers.

Perhaps one of the best measures of success is the total number of Aboriginal employees in the general workforce. The CIBC employed 237 Aboriginal employees in 1994, and Aboriginal employees were 0.6% of its workforce. To achieve parity with Alberta's Aboriginal population the CIBC would have to increase its Aboriginal workforce to 640 individuals.[41] The CIBC hired 109 Aboriginal employees in the past eight years. However, 263 Aboriginal employees were terminated during this time, there was no explanation as to why the figures submitted in the Annual Employers' Report have discrepancies.

Although employee numbers are important, one must also look at the types of jobs being performed by the Aboriginal employees. Approximately 20% of the CIBC's Aboriginal employees are in the managerial category, but more than half, 134 of 237 or 56.5%, are clerical workers.

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[41] I chose the Alberta Aboriginal population (2.7%) as a reference point for the CIBC to keep the comparisons consistent with the other case study organizations.

The CIBC has some innovative programs, but it will take time to see what impact, if any, these programs will have on the workforce. The Employment Equity Act is a numerically-based, results driven program, the rationale being that when the representation of members of the four designated groups increases, then the workplace is more equitable. The situation for Aboriginal employees at the CIBC is variable. In some regards it is progressive because approximately 20% of the Aboriginal workforce is in the middle and other managers category. Conversely, over 50% are clerical workers. The number of Aboriginal employees is low; the figures quoted for hirings and terminations are questionable. In addition, the rating given to the CIBC from the Employer's Annual Reports for its efforts towards Aboriginal employees was the lowest of the designated groups.

The bank appears to be focusing its efforts on women and visible minorities, as these groups have increased the most since the Employment Equity program began. The cultural diversity initiatives within the bank appear to treat the Aboriginal community as components of their cultural diversity program, as they do visible minorities. It does not appear that any specific measures have been taken to increase the employee numbers for Aboriginal employees.

The CIBC does not have a solid evaluation plan in place. They have indicated that the ratings they receive from Human Resources Development Canada are used to determine their success in creating a more equitable workforce.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

6.4.0 Introduction

The University of Alberta (U of A) represents[42] the educational institutions sector in this study of Employment Equity. The U of A is a Federal Contractors Program (FCP) organization under the Employment Equity Act. The objective of the Federal Contractors Program is to ensure that those who contract with the Government of Canada achieve and maintain a fair and representative workforce (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990).

As an FCP organization, the U of A is required to develop an Employment Equity plan and submit to periodic compliance reviews[43] conducted by the Human Resources Development Canada (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1991b). The University of Alberta's compliance reviews summarize its progress in improving its workforce representation of the four designated groups. As a legislated organization, the U of A is subject to sanctions for non-compliance which might include exclusion of the employer from future government business.

The FCP requirements are more rigorous than those of the LEEP. The U of A is required to give an account of its efforts to fulfil the 11 implementation criteria included in the review. The LEEP companies (Telus Corporation and the CIBC) are required only to submit the number of hirings, promotions, and terminations of their employees covered by the Employment Equity Act. They are not required to report their efforts but simply the results of those efforts.

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[42] The U of A represents the educational institution sector in this study only. There is no insinuation that the U of A is typical of all educational institutions.

[43] Compliance reviews are conducted approximately every two years.

6.4.1 Corporate Profile

The U of A was created as a provincial university by the passage of the University Act in 1906 and incorporated in 1908 (U of A, 1992). The U of A is a co-educational, nondenominational, government-supported institution with the right to confer both undergraduate and graduate degrees (U of A, 1993). Undergraduate degrees are offered in 13 faculties: agriculture, forestry and home economics, arts, business, education, engineering, Faculte Saint-Jean, law, medicine, and oral health sciences, nursing, pharmacy and pharmaceutical sciences, physical education and recreation, rehabilitation medicine and science (U of A, 1997). Graduate degrees are offered in 190 research areas with 76 master's and 64 doctoral programs (U of A, 1997a).

The main campus is located on the south bank of the North Saskatchewan River in Edmonton, Alberta. Other U of A campuses include the university farm, the Devonian Botanic Gardens, the MacTaggart Ecological Sanctuary, the Ellerslie Research Station, and the Edmonton research station (U of A, 1997a).

It is the fifth largest research-intensive university in Canada (U of A, 1997a). In the 1996-1997 academic year, the U of A had an enrollment of approximately 26,000 undergraduate students and approximately 4,300 graduate students (U of A, 1997a). In 1996 the U of A employed 2,310 academic staff and 2,826 support staff, making it the fifth largest employer in the Edmonton area[44] (U of A, 1997a). The U of A received $110.7 million in research funding in 1996 (U of A, 1997a).

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[44] This figure differs from the approximately 4,100 employees cited in the Federal Contractors Program Second Compliance Review published by the Office of Human Rights.

6.4.1.1 Organizational Structure

The U of A is a complex, multilevel organization, governed by the Chancellor, the President and Vice-Chancellor; three vice-presidents (academic, finance and administration, and research and external affairs); the Board of Governors; the Senate; and the General Faculties Council.

The Universities Act provides for a board of governors, a general faculties council (GFC) and, a senate. The principal governing bodies of the U of A are the Board of Governors and the General Faculties Council (Vanderpost, 1992). The responsibilities and authority of the Board of Governors reads as follows:

> The Board of Governors is a corporation with the name "the Governors of the University of Alberta". The conduct, management, and control of the University and all its property, revenue, business and affairs are vested in the Board. The Board appoints the deans of all faculties, all members of the teaching staff, the Librarians, the Registrar, and all members of the administrative staff . When any question arises as to the powers or duties of the Senate or any other University body or of the President or a Dean or other officer or employee, and these powers and duties are not definitely provided for the Universities Act, the Board's decision of the question is final (p. 194).

The General Faculties Council (GFC) is described "as one of the two main decision-making arms" at the U of A(Vanderpost, 1992, p. 94). The GFC's role is further described as:

> the senior academic body of the University. It provides for the granting and conferring of degrees, for the approval of courses and programs of study, and for the hearing of certain appeals. GFC determines standards and policies respecting admission of students and it may make recommendations to the Board of Governors on affiliations of other institutions,

> on academic planning, campus planning, the budget, procedures regarding the appointment, promotion and dismissal of academic staff, and any other matter which it considers to be of interest to the University. It has the general supervision of student affairs (U of A, 1996b, p. 664).

The Senate's duties are to enquire into any matter that might tend to enhance the usefulness of the University and to authorize the conferring of honorary degrees (U of A, 1994a).

The U of A has a decentralized governing body because of the division of staff into academic and nonacademic groups. This split makes it difficult to apply policies consistently between the two groups (Personal Interview with U of A's Employment Equity Officer, July 1996).

> "The mission of the U of A is to serve our community by the dissemination of knowledge through teaching and the discovery of knowledge through research. The mission will be carried out in a select number of fields and professions, to be determined within the context of a province-wide educational system and based upon the highest national and international standards (University of Alberta, 1996b, p. 64).

The U of A's motto is *"Quaecumque Vera"* (Whatsoever things are true).

6.4.2.0 Background

The federal government established the FCP as part of the Employment Equity Act in 1986 (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988). Under the FCP organizations that wish to bid on or receive contracts of more than $200,000 to supply goods and services to the federal government and employ more than 100 persons must commit themselves to Employment Equity. The U of A is included in this program because it receives research grants (U of A, 1993).

The FCP requires contractors to implement Employment Equity measures, which require the identification and removal of barriers to the selection, hiring, promotion, and training of members of the designated groups. The contractor must also take steps to improve the employment status of the designated groups by increasing their participation in all levels of employment (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990b).

The FCP sets out 11 criteria for implementation that must be fulfilled by the contractors. The abridged criteria read as follows:

1. Communications by the organization's Chief Executive Officer to employees, unions and/or employee associations of the commitment to achieve equity in the employment through the design and implementation of an Employment Equity plan.

2. Assignment of Senior personnel with responsibility for employment equity.

3. Collection and maintenance of information on the employment status of designated group employees, by occupation and salary levels and in terms of hiring, promoting and terminating in relation to all other employees

4. Analysis of designated groups' representation within the organization in relation to their representation in the supply of qualified workers from which the contractors may reasonably be expected to recruit employees.

5. Elimination or modification of those human resources policies, practices and systems, whether formal or informal, shown to have or likely to have an unfavourable effect on the employment status of designated group employees.

6. Establishment of goals for the hiring, training and promotion of designated group employees.

7. Establishment of a work plan for reaching the qualitative and quantitative goals for the University of Alberta.

8. Adoption of special measures where necessary to ensure that goals are achieved including the provisions of reasonable accommodation as required.

9. Establishment of a climate favourable to the successful integration of designated group members within the organization.

10. Adoption of procedures to monitor the progress and results achieved in implementing Employment Equity.

11. Authorization to allow representatives of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission to the business premises and to the records noted in criterion 3 above in order to conduct onsite compliance reviews for the purpose of measuring the progress achieved in implementing Employment Equity. (U of A, 1993, pp. 7-81).

The implementation and operation stage of the FCP has five steps: certification, implementation, compliance review, appeal, and sanctions (see Appendix D for a detailed description). Certification involves an organization committing itself to implementing Employment Equity according to specific criteria. The U of A signed a Certificate of Commitment to implement Employment Equity under the terms of the FCP in March 1987 (Vanderpost, 1992) (for a chronology of events related to Employment Equity at the U of A see Appendix G).

The implementation phase includes the removal of discriminatory barriers to the employment and promotion of the designated groups; improvement to hiring, training, and promotion practices for designated group members; introduction of special measures and the establishment of internal goals and timetables to achieve Employment Equity; and retaining records regarding the Employment Equity implementation process for officials from the Employment and Immigration Canada during on-site compliance reviews (FCP, 1990b).

Compliance reviews consist of a review, assessment and measurement of the contractor's records and documents to determine Employment Equity performance levels. If compliance is deemed insufficient the contractor must initiate remedial action within 12 months (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990b).

The appeal process occurs when an unfavourable compliance review is received by the organization. An independent review of the original findings is undertaken and the results forwarded to the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990b). Sanctions occur when the independent review shows the organization's failure to comply. These sanctions include exclusion from bidding on federal government contracts (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990b). Contracts with federal government departments such as Energy, Mines and Resources, Health and Welfare, National Defence, Forestry Canada, Justice Canada, Agriculture Canada, and Parks Canada net the U of A approximately $2.5 million per year (U of A, 1996c).

The U of A was selected for a compliance review in June 1991 (U of A, 1994a). The federal government requested a copy of the U of A's Employment Equity plan because the plan was part of its commitment as a member of the FCP. The U of A did not have an employment Equity plan in 1991 although it had been part of the FCP for four years. In fact, the U of A's Employment Equity Policy, *Opening Doors: a Plan for Employment Equity at the U of A* (U of A, 1994a) was not approved by the General Faculties Council until March 1993 and not approved by the Board of Governors until January 1994.

Setting a plan in place to establish Employment Equity at the U of A took from 1987 when the certificate was signed by then U of A President Myer Horowitz, until 1994 when the Board of Governors accepted *Opening Doors: a Plan for Employment Equity at the*

University of Alberta, a full seven years.

The responsibility for implementing the *Opening Doors Policy* "lies with the Vice-President Academic and the Vice-President Finance and Administration and through them, the deans, directors and chairs play a central role" (Personal Interview with U of A employment Equity Officer, July 1996). The Office of Human Rights has the role of coordination, advising, influence, and persuasion (Personal Interview with U of A EMPLOYMENT Equity Officer, July, 1996).

A second compliance report was conducted by Human Resources Development Canada in July 1996 (U of A, 1996c). The requirement for the implementation of a Employment Equity plan was satisfied by the creation and adoption of the *Opening Doors: a Plan for Employment Equity at the University of Alberta.*

6.4.3.0 Programs

The U of A is committed to achieving Employment Equity as outlined in the Employment Equity Act. It has undertaken a number of initiatives and programs to fulfil its obligations.

6.4.3.1 Special Advisor to the President on Matters of Equity

In July 1986 President Myer Horowitz appointed a Special Advisor to the President on Matters of Equity. The decision to appoint an advisor was prompted by Judge Rosalie Abella's visit to the U of A in late 1985, when she discussed the federal government's plans for Employment Equity with senior administrators (Vanderpost, 1992). Doris Badir, Dean of Home Economics, was chosen to fulfill a mandate that "was to do all those things, women's issues ... Employment Equity, women, Natives, visible minorities, disabled persons, students, non-academic staff, and academic staff. Other than that it was up to me to decide what issues I would look at or what I would develop" (Vanderpost, 1992, p. 120). Within weeks of the appointment, the U of A was informed that it, and other universities, would be included under the FCP (Vanderpost, 1992, p.120). Badir worked in this capacity for four years (Vanderpost, 1992).

6.4.3.2 Presidents's Employment Equity Implementation Committee (PEEIC)

In June 1991 U of A President Paul Davenport announced the creation of the President's Employment Equity Implementation Committee (PEEIC), the mandate of which was to develop an employment Equity plan for the U of A. *Opening Doors: a Plan for Employment Equity at the University of Alberta* (U of A, 1994a), states that the president's initiative had the support of the two staff associations (the Association of the Academic Staff of the U of A, AAS:UA and the Non-Academic Staff Association, NASA); the three vice-presidents responsible for employment policy and practice, the Board of Governors, the GFC, the Deans, Departments, Chairs, and Directors. The President's Employment Equity Implementation Committee's terms of reference read as follows:

- to prepare an Employment Equity plan for the U of A which meets the terms and conditions of the Federal Contractors Program, and which is acceptable to the University community and observes the policies of General Faculties Council and the Board of Governors respecting employment;
- to submit the plan to GFC and the Board of Governors;
- to assist in the design and completion of studies undertaken to develop the Employment Equity plan, including the workforce analysis, the development of the workforce profile and the review of personnel policies and practices;
- to participate in the development of a university-wide communications strategy for the implementation of Employment Equity;

- to seek input from organizations representing the designated groups: Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, visible minorities and women;
- to monitor the implementation of the University of Alberta's Employment Equity plan, once approved by GFC and the Board of Governors; and
- to recommend modifications to the University of Alberta's Employment Equity plan from time to time, in light of the University's changing circumstances ((U of A, 1994a, pp. 7-8).

The preparation of the FCP's compliance report was clearly a responsibility of PEEIC. The Human Rights Office at the University was given the responsibility of co-ordinating the committee participants (U of A, 1994a). The committee had representation from the Board of Governors; the Association of the Academic Staff; the General Faculties Council; the Non-Academic Staff Association; the Vice-president (Academic); Vice-president (Finance and Administration); the Dean's Council; and Chair's Council; and four representatives-at-large, appointed by the President.

6.4.3.3 Employment Equity Week

Employment Equity Week was held October 7-14, 1991 at the University of Alberta following a campus-wide advertising campaign was undertaken to alert employees to the upcoming event. The event was coordinated by the Office of Human Rights with the aim of increasing the profile of Employment Equity issues on campus. This was achieved through a series of lectures, presentation, and events held to promote discussion of Employment Equity issues.

6.4.3.4 Employment Equity Census

The U of A conducted an Employment Equity census in October 1991 designed to give the U of A a "snapshot" of its workforce representation.[45] Information was gathered through a voluntary census distributed to U of A employees. The Office of Human Rights designed the questionnaire with assistance from the Alberta Human Rights Commission and distributed 5,106 questionnaires to full and part-time employees through campus mail to coincide with Employment Equity Week events on campus (University of Alberta, 1994b). The questionnaire return rate was 90% of distributed forms; however, spoiled census forms decreased the overall return rate to 83% (University of Alberta, 1994b). It also gave administration a benchmark to determine whether the U of A employed members of the designated groups commensurate with local.

Results showed that female respondents were over-represented in the U of A workforce (49.8%) compared with their proportional representation in Edmonton (45.5%), Alberta (44.5%), and Canadian (44.0%) labour forces. Aboriginals respondents were under represented in the U of A workforce (1.1%) compared with their proportional representation in Edmonton (2.6%), Alberta (2.7%), and Canadian (2.1%) labour forces. Persons with Disabilities respondents were under-represented in the U of A workforce (3.5%) compared to their proportional representation in Alberta (5.8%), and Canadian (5.4%) labour forces . Statistics for representation of Persons with Disabilities in Edmonton were unavailable. Visible minority respondents were over represented in the U of A workforce (12.2%)

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[45] Because the census was voluntary some chose not to participate. The figures offered by the U of A in its *Opening Doors: a Plan for Employment Equity at the* U of A publication cites figures for voluntary participants only and *not* all U of A employees.

compared with their proportional representation in Edmonton (8.3%), Alberta (6.5%), and Canadian (6.3%) labour forces.

6.4.3.5 Employment Equity Database

An Employment Equity database was created with the information gathered from the returned census forms. This information was integrated with the University of Alberta's Human Resources Information System (HRIS) (University of Alberta, 1994b). The Human Resources Information System (HRIS) allows for collection of information regarding hirings, promotions, retirements, terminations, and layoffs of both academic and nonacademic staff at the U of A.

The integrated database allows the Office of Human Rights to retrieve personnel information for Employment Equity purposes vis a vis the designated groups. Information was originally provided only on a campus-wide rather than a department or faculty basis. Revisions have been made to the system to differentiate the data and make it more accessible and requests for equity information can now be made on a faculty and departmental basis and are channelled through the Office of Human Rights to ensure confidentiality to the respondents.

6.4.4.0 Special Initiatives for Achieving Workplace Equity

The U of A has undertaken many initiatives to enhance Employment Equity. Many initiatives are outlined in the *Opening Doors: A Plan for Employment Equity at the University of Alberta* (University of Alberta, 1994b). Other initiatives taken at the U of A are not limited to those included in the Opening Doors Policy. The following are some, but not all, of the activities undertaken at the University of Alberta.

6.4.4.1 Opening Doors: Employment Equity Plan at the University of Alberta

The University of Alberta's Employment Equity plan, entitled *Opening Doors: A Plan for Employment Equity at the* U of A, brought it into compliance with the FCP. The plan was authored by the President's Employment Equity Implementation Committee (PEEIC) with a coordinating role being played by the U of A' s Office of Human Rights.

Over 70 recommendations were made in the *Opening Doors* document. Implementation of the recommendations started following the policy's acceptance by the Board of Governors in January 1994. Recommendations differ in complexity and in the amount of time and effort needed to achieve them. Some recommendations have been implemented; others have not. The following are some of the recommendations that have been initiated as part of the *Opening Doors* Policy.

Policy implementation met with much resistance at the U of A. Petitions were created and meetings discussing this issue became heated, with emotions running high among proponents and opponents. Issues of tokenism and reduced academic and employment standards were frequently raised. Although there was overt and public opposition to this policy by some, I suspect there is also covert opposition that manifests itself in voluntary noncompliance with policy initiatives, which can stall any attempts to achieve equity (see Appendix H).

6.4.4.1.1Employment Systems Review

The Employment Systems Review involves a review of the U of A's employment policies, practices and systems to determine if they have a detrimental effect on the designated groups (U of A, 1994b). According to *Opening Doors* (U of A, 1994b), few employers set policies to discriminate intentionally. The review states, "Most barriers to designated group members are the result of systemic discrimination, the application of employment policies and practices based on criteria that are not job related and/or not required for the safe and efficient operation of business" (University of Alberta, 1994a, p. 27).

The policy review resulted in modifications and clarifications of policies dealing with personnel issues for both academic and nonacademic staff. These issues included: Recruitment Practices for Academic and Non-academic Staff; Staff Selection; Staff Training and Development; Upward Mobility; Job Evaluation; Compensation; Benefits; and Conditions for Employment at the U of A(University of Alberta, 1994a).

For example, the recruitment practices for academic staff were outlined to include how vacancies should be advertised. As a result of the policy review, the University has begun to place advertisements in publications of specific interest to designated groups (U of A, 1994b). Recruitment Reports for the Vice-president (Academic) are required from Deans and Directors when an academic appointment is made. These reports include information about:

- the pool of available qualified persons;
- sources consulted in the determination of this pool;
- the number of applications received;
- the qualifications and gender of all applicants, if known;
- the criteria used in determining the short-list;

- the number of person short-listed, including a reference to the qualification and gender of the person short-listed;
- an explanation as to why the short-list contains no members of the under-represented gender (if that is the case);
- the resumes of the most qualified persons and of the under-represented gender;
- the criteria used in the final selection (p.428).

Policies and procedures are detailed for academic and non-academic staff on many personnel issues.

6.4.4.1.2Selection Committee Training

It was recommended in the *Opening Doors* Policy that one member of a selection committee for faculty members or academic have completed Employment Equity Training from the Office of Human Rights at the University of Alberta. The Employment Equity Advisor,[46] Cathy Anne Pachnowski has held a series of Employment Equity workshops for committee members (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July 1996). This is a timely measure given the commitment to faculty renewal that is presently underway. Faculty renewal is discussed below.

6.4.4.1.3Departmental Equity Plans

The Vice-president (Academic) has requested the Deans to submit equity plans for their faculties. This plan must include efforts made to increase the pool of qualified applicants from which they make their staff selections (U of A, 1994b). Most have been submitted at the time of writing and the Vice-president's office is following up with those departments who have not submitted their plan (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July 1996). The AAS:UA recommended that a Dean's inaction in delivering an equity plan to the Vice-resident (Academic) cause the department's budget to be withheld. The Vice-president (Academic) chose not to take this route because some deans had not submitted Employment Equity reports (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July, 1996).

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[46] This position was originally called the Employment Equity Co-ordinator. The position began in January 1993.

6.4.4.1.4Establishment of a Work Plan to Reach Goals

The *Opening Doors* policy states that it will set both qualitative and quantitative goals to achieve Employment Equity at the University of Alberta. The qualitative goals speak to the issues of workplace environment: how comfortable is it for members of the designated groups to work at the University of Alberta. The quantitative goals will be achieved by numerical goals being set, accountabilities being assigned, and target dates being established (U of A, 1994a).

- to ensure the University's ability to continue its pursuit of Employment Equity;
- to continue to gather information about the employment status of the designated groups a the University of Alberta;
- to keep the University community informed about the University's efforts to become a more equitable employer;
- to become a more equitable employer by revising those employment policies and practises which have an adverse impact on members of the designated groups;
- to ensure that designated groups are reasonably represented in the study body; and

- to provide a supportive, safe and secure work environment for all employees of the U of A (University of Alberta, 1994b, p. xii).

The Work Plan sets the guidelines for implementation of policies and procedures set out in achievement of the Employment Systems Review mentioned in section 6.4.4.1.1.[47]

6.4.4.2 Internal Employment Equity Monitoring Committees

Committees have been set up to serve as internal monitoring mechanisms for Employment Equity activities on campus. These include the Association of Academic Staff at the U of A(AAS:UA) on Equity Issues, the Employment Equity Advisory Committee, and the General Faculties Council. These committees have different mandates and terms of reference but have the similar goal of furthering Employment Equity initiatives on campus.

The AAS:UA formed an equity issues committee in 1994, the mandate of which is to develop policy recommendations on equity issues affecting members of the Association and to act as an advisory committee to the executive and council on equity matters (U of A, 1997c).

In September 1996 the U of A created an Equity Advisory Committee with a mandate to act as an advisory and implementation committee on Employment Equity (1997b:1) Their role includes advising senior administration and the Employment Equity Advisor on the direction of the Opening Doors policy implementation and to recommend policy modifications (University of Alberta, 1997b).

Another internal monitoring mechanism is a annual report delivered to the General

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[47] A detailed description of the U of A's Work Plan can be found in U of A (1994a, pp. 27-53).

Faculties Council by the Office of Human Rights, which outlines the University's advances toward Employment Equity over the previous year (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July 1996). This report informs the GFC about the results of recent compliance reviews and gives the status of recommendations contained in the *Opening Doors* Policy.

6.4.4.3 Faculty Renewal Program

The Faculty Renewal Policy, although not directly related to Employment Equity, can play an indirect role. Its purpose is to generate significant numbers of early retirements to enable the appointment of highly qualified new faculty members (U of A, 1995b). Graduated financial incentives dependent upon their regular retirement date are available to faculty members.

Through this program, the U of A administration has the opportunity to hire new faculty members from the designated groups covered under the Employment Equity Act. Records show that Aboriginals and persons with disabilities are under represented at the U of A. In fact, the Human Resources Development Canada representative who conducted the U of A's second compliance review immediately noticed the under representation by these two groups (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, May 1997).

6.4.4.4 Information Dissemination System

Those involved in making the U of A a more equitable employer wish to keep the university community informed of efforts being made. The information is disseminated in a variety of modes. For example, the Office of Human Rights has an ongoing series of open debates on Employment Equity and Human Rights issues (U of A, 1994b). These debates help the university community to explore the full meaning of Employment Equity with regard to merit, excellence, and quality (U of A, 1994b).

In 1994, a collaborative effort of the Office of Human Rights, the training staff of the office of the Vice-president (Academic) and the Personnel Services and Staff Relations office produced a series of workshops on the value of diversity in the workplace (U of A, 1994a). Some of these workshops were designed to address the issues faced by supervisors and managers. To date, this group has delivered "half a dozen" workshops to U of A faculty and staff with limited success as most who attended were in favour of Employment Equity (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, May 1997).

6.4.5.0 Measures of Success

The effectiveness and efficiency of the U of A's Employment Equity efforts can be measured on a variety of indices. Because of the nature of the reporting process used by the FCP at the U of A, I am unable to use the measures of success from the other companies. I am applying the following criteria to the U of A to assess their ability to obtain a more equitable workforce: employee totals and diversity in employment.

6.4.5.1 Employee Totals

Downsizing has caused the U of A workforce to decline. The 1996 Annual Report to the GFC shows since 1994 the U of A workforce declined by 200 faculty who accepted early retirement as a result of the Faculty Renewal Program (U of A, 1996c). It is estimated that approximately one third of the U of A's professoriate will turn over within the next five years. The Aboriginal employee representation at the U of A has declined by 27% from 48 in 1991 to 35 in 1995.

The 1991 Census of Canada placed Aboriginals as 2.7% of the Alberta population.[48] If the U of A were to attempt parity with the population it would have to employ 91 Aboriginal employees, thereby doubling its existing Aboriginal workforce.

To increase the representation of Aboriginal employees, the employer must combine hiring more Aboriginal employees with retention of existing Aboriginal employees. This did not occur at the U of A, where full-time Aboriginal employees were lost to downsizing at a greater rate than non-Aboriginals. From 1993 to 1995 the non-Aboriginal employee population at the U of A declined by 13% whereas the Aboriginal employee population declined by 19%. This is not to say that these Aboriginal employees did not leave the organization voluntarily through buy-out packages, early retirement incentives, or by quitting their jobs. The representation of Aboriginal employees as a percentage of the overall U of A workforce has remained at approximately 0.8% of the general U of A workforce from 1992 to 1996. The average length of employment for the 42 Aboriginal employees at the U of Ais 12.5 years.[49] The longest period of employment was 35 years; the most recent recruit was employed for approximately 1 year. The second U of A compliance report states that four Aboriginals employees received promotions during the period under review 1993-1995. These were two professionals, one clerical worker and one other manual worker (U of A, 1996d).

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[48] Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada places Alberta's total population at 2,519,180. It places Alberta's Aboriginal population at 68,445. Aboriginals are 2.7% of the Alberta population.

[49] This information was retrieved from the HRIS database. I was given the U of A's Aboriginal employees' length of employment with no identifying information attached.

6.4.5.4 Diversity in Employment

U of A records show that the most of the Aboriginal employees are in the lower occupational groups[50] at the U of A. Further, approximately 37% of Aboriginal employees are clerical workers. More Aboriginals do clerical work than any other kind of work at U of A (U of A, 1996d). Aboriginal employees occupy 10 of the 11 occupational categories at the U of A.

6.4.6.0 U OF A Employee Profile

The U of A provides employment for approximately 3,900 full-time and 200 part-time employees (U of A, 1996d). Table 6.13 shows the U of A workforce by occupation and their percentage of the total workforce and indicates that most U of A employees fall in the professionals (university teachers) category numbering 1,371 or 33.4% of the U of A's employees. This is followed by clerical workers with 905 or 22.0% .

The U of A has undergone a downsizing process that resulted in a decline in the workforce due to early retirements. During the 1994-1995 fiscal year, 70 academic staff members (Faculty, Faculty Service Officers, Librarians, and Administrative Professional Officers) accepted early retirement packages at the U of A(U of A, 1995a). Employee terminations of the U of A employees in 1995 totalled 367. Records show that layoffs and terminations at the U of A have had a disportionate effect on the four designated groups during the period under review (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July 1996). Of the 772 terminations recorded during this period, women were 331 or 42.9%,

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[50] Lower occupational groups include any position that does not have professional or supervisory duties. This includes clerical workers, services workers, skilled manual workers, semi skilled manual workers and other manual workers.

Table 6.13. U of A Full-time Employees by Occupational Level, 1995

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper-level Management	4	0.1
Middle or Other Management	425	10.3
Professionals (University Teachers) Professionals (Other Professionals)	1371 234	33.4 5.8
Semi Professionals/Technicians	323	7.9
Supervisors	212	5.2
Foremen/women	46	1.2
Clerical Workers	905	22.0
Sales Workers	--	--
Service Workers	82	2.0
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	101	2.5
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	92	2.3
Other Manual Workers	297	7.3
Total	4118	100*

Source: U of A, (1996a, p.16).
* may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Aboriginals were 4 or 0.5%, visible minorities were 81 or 10.5; and the disabled were 28 or 3.6%. Members of the designated groups accounted for 57.5% of the terminations while the University was supposed to be making efforts to increase numbers of these groups.

6.4.6.1 U of A Aboriginal Employment Profile

In 1995 the U of A employee population[51] stood at 4,118. Of that 4,118, of which 35 or 0.9% were Aboriginal. The 1991 Census of Canada placed Aboriginals as 2.7% of the

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[51] The U of A employee population is based on returned questionnaires from a 1991 voluntary Employment Equity Census.

Alberta population,[52] and 3.7% of the Canadian population (University of Alberta, 1994b and Statistics Canada, 1993b). If the U of A were to attempt parity with the provincial and national Aboriginal population it would have to employ many more Aboriginal employees. For the U of A to have Aboriginal employees as 3.1% (Aboriginal's representation in Edmonton) of its workforce it would have to employ 128 Aboriginal employees.

Table 6.14. U of A Full-time Aboriginal Employees by Occupational Level, 1995

Occupational Level	Employees	Percentage
Upper-level Management	--	--
Middle or Other Management	3	8.6
Professionals	4	11.4
Semi Professionals/Technicians	1	2.9
Supervisors	3	8.6
Foremen/women	2	5.7
Clerical Workers	13	37.0
Sales Workers	--	--
Service Workers	--	--
Skilled Craft and Trades Workers	2	5.7
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	--	--
Other Manual Workers	7	20.0
Total	35	100*

Source: Opening Door: The University of Albert's Employment Equity Plan in Action, 1996:21

The U of A's Aboriginal employees as of December 31, 1995 were full-time (35) with no part-time, seasonal, or temporary employees. Table 6.14 shows the U of A Aboriginal workforce by occupation and their percentage of the total U of A workforce. Most Aboriginal employees are clerical workers, who make up 37% of the U of A's Aboriginal workforce, followed by other manual workers with 7 or 20%. Aboriginal employees are found in the second highest occupational level, middle and other management, with three of 35 employees or 8.6% of the University of Alberta's Aboriginal employees. Aboriginal employees in supervisory or professional positions total 10 or 29% of the U of A's Aboriginal employee population, compared with 45% for non-Aboriginals.

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[52] Statistics Canada 1991 Census of Canada places Alberta's total population at 2,519,180. It places Alberta's Aboriginal population at 68,445. Aboriginals are 2.7% of the Alberta population.

The U of A reported that no Aboriginal employees were hired during the period under review. Terminations for Aboriginal employees totalled four in the last 12 months. Four Aboriginal employees received promotions in the past year (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, July 1996).

6.4.7 Summary

The compliance report produced by the U of Ais a better indication of what the organization is doing to achieve a more equitable workforce. The U of A is working on two fronts to achieve equity. First it is working on the environmental side by seeking at ways to encourage members of the designated groups both to stay at the U of A if they are an employee and to seek it as a potential employer. Second, the university is looking at the quantitative aspects of the Employment Equity Act as this is numbers-driven legislation.

The "critical mass" of Aboriginal employees is not at the university. The numbers have always been small and remain small. It has been said that the university has not been not able to hire "qualified" Aboriginals because of their scarcity. This is true to some extent as there are few Aboriginal people have doctoral degrees, but approximately half of the University's workforce are nonacademic staff. No Aboriginal people have been hired at the U of A during the period under review in the second FCP compliance review.

The U of A, like all the companies involved in this case study analysis has had to deal with the effects of downsizing. Its workforce declined by approximately 18% in 1995 (U of A, 1996d). This decrease coupled with a reduction of government grants, has forced administrators to juggle budgets. Records show that Aboriginal employees have remained at 0.9% (their 1993 mark) of the U of A's workforce. There has been no decrease, but there have been no increases either. This group is the most under represented group of the designated groups.

The *Opening Doors* Policy, although seven years in the making, is a moderate document. Perhaps it is as much as the university community could take at the time. Its strengths are the ability to make various people responsible for implementing the program. For example, deans are required to submit equity plans; selection committees must take equity training. Its weakness is that it has not been fully embraced by all levels. For example, the 1995 Employment Equity report did not deal with Employment Equity *per se*, but was mainly concerned with budget cuts. No plans were proposed. Some reports merely stated that departmental restructuring had taken up the available time. As the Equity Advisor said, "Equity should be part of the fabric of university community and not something that is tagged on at the end of the day when all of the other business is done" (Personal Interview with Employment Equity Advisor, 1997).

Most professionals seek out similar people as colleagues. This practice will have to be resisted at the university in the future. With faculty renewal in process, the U of A has the opportunity to fill professorial positions with members of the designated groups, and this does not mean refilling faculty vacancies with Anglo-Saxon men. The university has the opportunity to diversify its workforce, and some faculties, such as medicine and law, are actively recruiting Aboriginal students, having recognized that it is important for an educational institution to promote access to under represented groups.

The *Opening Doors* policy has innovative and quantifiable initiatives to help the university achieve equity. However, no policies are aimed specifically at increasing the number of Aboriginal employees. The distribution of Aboriginal employees within the university is diverse, Aboriginal employees are concentrated in the clerical field with Aboriginals as approximately 5% of the Edmonton population (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1993), if the University is to reach parity with local representation, it must hire approximately five times more Aboriginal employees than it now has.

6.5 Equity Analysis Between Case Study Organizations

Successfully increasing the number and proportional representation of Aboriginal people is the goal of the Employment Equity Act. All of the case study organizations have taken steps to that end, but some have been more successful than others. The University of Alberta, through its *Opening Doors* Policy is the only organization that has a concrete plan to increase representation of the four designated groups. The plan is quantifiable and has a time line that can be easily monitored. All organizations have an Aboriginal/employment equity program, but the programs vary in detail and in their ability to be monitored and assessed. The CIBC has a number of tools to assist its managers in dealing with Employment

Equity situations, but these do not necessarily result in increasing the representation of the four designated groups in the workplace.

All organizations were forced by an outside agency to implement their Aboriginal/employment equity program. Three of the organizations fall under the Employment Equity Act and are therefore required to participate. Syncrude, although not part of the legislation, was required to implement an Aboriginal employment program in order to obtain its operating license, according to its president Eric Newell.

Each organization came into compliance at different rates. Both the CIBC and Telus appear to be the fastest to comply with Aboriginal/equity programming. Telus Corporation filed its first report within months of its reconstruction, the U of A took seven years to implement its program. Reports for the Aboriginal community state that Syncrude "dragged its heels in implementing an Aboriginal program."

Private sector organizations (Syncrude, Telus, and the CIBC) all appear to be market-driven in their pursuit of Aboriginal employment. Syncrude has implemented a "sole source contract program" for service contracts for Aboriginal business. This is an opportunity for Aboriginal people to become entrepreneurs, but it also has the potential for Syncrude to lower its costs, hence increasing its profitability. The small companies offer employees less career mobility than the Syncrude bureaucracy. Both Telus and the CIBC appear motivated to increase their Aboriginal employee numbers as a means of advancing into an untapped Aboriginal market. As one interviewee stated, "it's like we just discovered that we have money" (Telephone interview, Aboriginal employee #32).

As for the state of Aboriginal employment in the case study organizations, there are both good aspects and bad. The good aspects are that all organizations are in the position to employ more Aboriginal people in the future. All organizations show ghettoization of Aboriginal people in their workforces. For example, the U of A shows a concentration of Aboriginal people in the clerical sector. However, Syncrude shows a concentration of Aboriginals in the heavy equipment operators category.

Aboriginal people were under representation in all the organizations. Syncrude was nearest to its goal but the numbers were still low. Syncrude is in a unique position because it is in located in an area with a high Aboriginal population. This is not so with the other organizations, which are located in areas where the Aboriginal population is smaller.

All organizations, because of their size and bureaucratic structure, have the potential to implement an internal labour market. This means that people from within the organization can obtain promotions and collect the salary increases and authority that go with them. The only organization to record promotions of Aboriginal people is the CIBC. The promotions given to Aboriginal employees there are commensurate with their representation in CIBC's workforce. However, their representation is lower than their proportionate population in the community.

All organizations were affected by downsizing. As a result, the job descriptions for those remaining workers may have changed. For example, they might now be required to assume more duties or to produce greater volumes of work. All companies now operate with a smaller workforce. Syncrude maintained the highest number of employees during the downsizing phenomenon, and Syncrude appears to be making progress in its efforts to increase Aboriginal employment within the company. The hiring freeze implemented by the company has had positive results by increasing the percentage of Aboriginal employees in its workforce. However, Syncrude, like the other organizations, does not appear to be aggressively recruiting Aboriginals. The other organizations lost up to half of their Aboriginal staff at a time when they were supposed to increase Aboriginal representation in their workforce. Not only were Aboriginal employees lost, but they were not replaced.

All organizational policies contain barriers to Aboriginal employment. All appear to implement the educational screening mechanism of the human capital theory. Each organization refers to its need for qualified Aboriginal recruits. However, the types of jobs most Aboriginal employees perform do not require high levels of education. For example, not every Aboriginal person hired at the U of A will be a professor and require a doctoral degree Most Aboriginal employees in the case study organizations are concentrated in clerical and low-level positions.

Mason's (1993) criteria for achieving Employment Equity with an organization include barrier elimination, job accommodation, positive measures, and supportive measures.Table 6.15 shows the presence or absence of Masson's criteria in the case studies

Table 6.15. Compliance to Mason's Criteria

	Organization			
Mason's Criteria	**Syncrude**	**Telus**	**CIBC**	**U of A**
Barrier Elimination	No	No	No	Yes
Job Accommodation	Yes	No	No	No
Positive Measures	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Supportive Measures	No	Yes	No	No

The commitment of management is important to a program's success. Managers from all organizations studies have said that equity policies were important and have put committees in place to implement equity policy. However, in some companies, this has been the extent of the management involvement, and monitoring policies has not been under managerial direction or scrutiny. As a result, some policies are not earnestly implemented. Some middle managers, those usually delegated to implement policies, are against the concept of Employment Equity and drag their feet when implementing policy. For example, the U of A has formed a group in opposition to Employment Equity. These individuals are unhappy that the *Opening Doors* policy was implemented and will perhaps now try to stall the process. In three of the four organizations studied there were showed signs of overt resistance to Aboriginal/employment equity programs.

Policy implementation must be embraced by all employees in the organizations, and the upper-level management must take an active role in the implementation and monitoring. One person cannot carry the program as was evident in two organizations I studied. These people were frustrated by the inactivity and nonsupport of upper management.

The most successful programs are those that have upper and middle management support. In addition, a concrete plan with monitoring mechanisms is important. It seems that some of the organizations are looking for a "quick fix" to the Employment Equity issue and are employing equity plans that might not be viable.

The most successful implementation plan I found in this study was the *Opening Doors* Policy at the University of Alberta. The most unique program was the Social Assistance program in the CIBC, but this program was discontinued after only two terms. The least successful program was Syncrude's letter-of-intent program which netted only a handful of successes. The most culturally specific program was the Aboriginal Circle program for Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation. The most successful program in terms of increasing the representation of Aboriginal employees in the company, which is what Employment Equity is all about, was the Syncrude hiring freeze program that restricted hiring to all except university graduates and Aboriginals.

CHAPTER 7

EMPLOYEE PROFILES AND EXPERIENCES

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to place Aboriginal employees within their companies and capture their experiences both as Aboriginal individuals and as a collective. Whereas Chapter 6 addresses the organizational and policy issues of case study employers, this chapter deals with the subjective experiences of 40 Aboriginal employees working with case study companies. Here I delve more deeply into the everyday experiences of these Aboriginal employees and explore the respondents' *perceptions* of the workplace environment. I conducted interviews over the telephone (called Telephone interview employee #X) or in person (called Personal interview employee #X) between September 1996 and February 1997.

Questions raised in this chapter include whether Aboriginal respondents experience the same workplace phenomena despite their seniority, academic achievement, job status, or occupation. Are there specific factors that *shape* an Aboriginal employee's career? If so, what are they? Are some workplace experiences specific to a particular workplace, or can they be generalized? Are the respondents aware of Aboriginal/Employment Equity policies and procedures in their companies? If so, do they think these policies have helped or hindered their workplace experience? Finally, are they aware of any company policies or procedures that unknowingly hinder them as Aboriginal employees? Generally, I wish to know if Aboriginal employees influence the workplace and how the workplace influences the Aboriginal employee.

I incorporate principles of human capital theory into my analysis of the Aboriginal employee experience. Although this theory has its weaknesses, it highlights the role of education and does explain, in a limited way, how better educated Aboriginals are getting better jobs and entering the middle class. Employers use elements of this theory, and its practice of using education and job-related experience as a screening mechanism, to limit access to the organizations. However, human capital theory has been internalized by Aboriginals who use education and job-related experience as their own measure of worth to the employer. They have accepted the notion of education as a means to a better livelihood. Many now have educational credentials and expect the status and job opportunities that accompany university degrees and other types of certification. Are Aboriginal employees reaping the benefits of this investment in themselves?

I also ask about the workplace environment. Here I use the tokenism concept as defined by Kanter (1978). Do Aboriginal employees feel they are *the centre of attention* at work, stifled in their career advancement, or socially isolated? The above theories help me answer my third research question: *Do Aboriginal employees believe their ancestry is a factor in their workplace experiences? If so, how*?

I compare the Aboriginal employment experience, as shown in the data, with the theories to determine whether they adequately support or refute the Aboriginal employment experience. The theories and concepts provide the basis for interpreting the data and presenting the implications of the findings.

In this chapter I attempt to place a *human face* on the statistics. For example, the Annual Employment Equity Report cites statistics on promotions to Aboriginal people, but does not include details on individuals who received those promotions or details on the feelings of rejection when someone is passed over for a promotion.

The findings discussed in this chapter advance the argument that companies must change their structures and policies if they hope to make the workplace more welcoming to Aboriginal employees. It also shows what companies are doing right in fostering an environment that makes people with differences feel comfortable and valued.

Respondents are, or were, employed with the four case study companies. The 40 respondents represent a heterogeneous group of Aboriginal employees who gave me an in-depth look into their personal workplace experience, perceptions and ambitions. Findings in this chapter are augmented by similar results found in the literature. In addition, findings from this chapter are compared with the LEEP findings of Chapter 5.

Participants have diverse life situations. Some are married and some are single. Most have dependent children living with them. They are also at different stages of their working lives with some beginning their careers after many years of educational preparation, and others nearing retirement (see Table 7.1 for greater detail).

Data in this chapter are separated into three main categories: Employee Profiles, Respondent Insights, and Aboriginal Employees' Experiences with Company Equity Programs. Some data are separated by gender to learn whether Aboriginal males and females experience certain events equally.

The Employee Profile provides the employees' demographic information such as marital status, dependent children living in the home, academic achievement, and occupational level. This section shows the diversity of Aboriginal employees, who do a variety of tasks, hold an array of positions, and have seniority ranging from two months to over 30 years. Due to the nature of their training, work experience, and education, the participants have a variety of job titles and responsibilities.

The Worker Experiences section details the employees' employment history, job satisfaction, career development, social environment, and individual experiences as an Aboriginal employee. Questions about the employee's perceptions of his or her workplace experience are explored. For example, do the respondents believe the employer fully uses their skills and training in their present job? In addition, questions are asked about the social environment in the workplace[illegible]ch as does the respondent feel he or she is integrated into the workplace culture or marginalized? This section is intentionally subjective to allow for the incorporation of qualitative interview data collected from the respondents.

The final section includes information on the employee's involvement and perception of his or her company's Employment Equity policies. Questions about employees' Employment Equity Program (EEP) awareness are asked. Does the person think he or she has benefited from the program? These questions help determine the policy profile within the company. Is the policy effective if the target population is unaware that a policy exists? How can this situation be corrected? Again, this section is subjective and is based solely on the respondents' perceptions.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of findings. The employees' subjective experiences and quotations are intertwined throughout the analysis to give a richer, more thorough description of their workplace and their workplace experiences. Included in this discussion is an assessment of the tenets of the theoretical framework on which this study is based. Do the employees' experiences support or refute the theories.

7.1 Employee Profiles

Table 7.1 shows the demographic information for the employee sample.

Table 7.1. Aboriginal Employee Demographic Characteristics by Gender

Participant Characteristic	Male (n=15)	Female (n=25)
Gender		
Number	15	25
Percentage	37	63
Living with Partner		
Number	11	14
Percentage of Total Sample	28	34
Percentage of Gender	73	56
Not Living with Partner		
Number	4	11
Percentage of Total Sample	10	28
Percentage of Gender	27	44
Living with Dependent Children		
Number	10	14
Percentage of Total Sample	25	35
Percentage of Gender	67	56
Living with Other Dependents*		
Number	1	--
Percentage of Total Sample	2.5	--
Percentage of Gender	7	--

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

* denotes dependent family members living with the employee.

This sample has 40 individuals: 15 men (37%) and 25 women (63%). Three quarters of the Aboriginal employees in this study are full-time workers, part-time workers make up 10%, and contract workers are 13% of the total. The remaining individual is a trainee. Most employees, 35 of 40 (88%), have specialized work training ranging from technical job-related courses to postgraduate degrees. Most (63%) live with partners, but more males live with partners (73% of male population) than females (56% of female population). Only four of the 15 (27%) male respondents did not live with a partner, whereas 11 of 25 (44%) of female employees did not live with a partner.

Most respondents had dependent children living with them. Sixty-seven percent of male respondents and 56% of female respondents had dependent children living with them. Single parenthood was a reality for 50% of the females, but no males were single parents. Only one respondent, a male, had a dependent family member living with him.

Half the Aboriginal employees were in the same position as when they were hired, which means they had not received a promotion since they began working for the company. The average length of employment for Aboriginal employees still employed in the same position as when they started with the company (not promoted) was 5.5 years. However, the seniority for this group ranged from six months to 27 years. Some individuals had applied for promotion but were unsuccessful. They said they were well qualified and were frustrated in their lack of advancement. One individual said he or she blamed the lack of promotion on racism within the company ranks. This individual claimed he or she was passed over for a promotion because of negative employee dynamics at the company. He or she explained that a negative relationship had developed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers although the company *claimed* to have a *zero-tolerance* policy toward discrimination.

However, he or she said complaints against other employees had gone nowhere (Personal Employee Interview # 6). He or she believed that other workers, primarily non-Aboriginal males, would not have been happy having an Indian as a boss. When he or she questioned why he or she did not get the promotion he or she was given what he or she called "a flimsy excuse". This experience made this person question whether he or she wanted to remain with the company because she was uncertain whether she would ever be promoted (Personal Employee Interview # 6).

It is difficult to determine whether this situation with non-Aboriginal workers taking orders from an Aboriginal boss is typical or whether it would be problematic in other companies. However, many Aboriginal employees stated there were few, if any, Aboriginal managers in their companies. One respondent stated:

> One would be hard pressed to find an Aboriginal manager who is not head of an Aboriginal department or not responsible for other Aboriginal employees within their company. We get to manage other Indians but not other non-Indian employees. It's as though non-Indians won't or shouldn't have to take orders from us. Our experience and job title should give us the authority to manage all employees -- Indian or not. There is *ghettoization* of Aboriginal managers. (Personal Employee interview # 40)

This statement is supported by the findings of Chaffins et al. (1995) and Wright et al. (1995) in their studies of women in management. They found a gender gap in the authority role in the workplace. Women were held in middle management positions with less pay and less authority than men and managed obscure and low-status departments. Here Aboriginal managers were limited in whom they managed. They had authority over other Aboriginals, but not over non-Aboriginals.

Those who were not in the same position as when they were hired (had received promotions) had been employed for an average of 13.5 years. The seniority of these individuals ranged from two months to over 30 years. The majority (65% of the Aboriginal employees) had job-related experience when they started with their employers. This may account for someone receiving a promotion after being with the company for only two months. There is a difference of seven years of seniority between those who received and those who did not received promotions.

Most Aboriginal employees who received promotions were hired into low-level positions although they had specialized training and job-related experience. It appears that employers were using clerical positions as ports of entry for Aboriginal employees despite their academic achievement and employment experience. This is true for both males and females. Data from Chapter 5 show a large increase in numbers of male clerical workers. In fact, clerical work was the largest growth area for Aboriginal males in the EEW. Clerical positions may be the testing ground for Aboriginal employees, a finding supported by the results in the Employment Equity Annual Reports, which showed that Aboriginal employees were largely hired into clerical positions. The largest number of promotions was in the clerical category where promotions were given to a higher-status clerical position.

The largest number of promotions into management positions was also from the clerical category. Those promoted into management were employed with their companies between seven and 26 years. It seems that employers showed caution when promoting Aboriginal employees, because they earned promotions only after an extended period of employment. Most who received promotions started with their companies in entry-level positions although they had job-related experience and academic preparation. In this sense they were under employed when they began with their companies and advanced only after long periods of employment. For example, one individual received a promotion into management after 23 years with the company. He or she stated that he or she had taken many career development courses throughout his or her employment but did not receive subsequent promotions. In fact, he or she stated he or she received negative feedback from a supervisor who told him or her that he or she "would not go anywhere in the company because he or she was Indian" (Personal Employee Interview # 20). This experience left the person shaken but even more determined to succeed. Only one individual who received a promotion in the management category was hired into that category. This person had a graduate degree and job-related experience.

Table 7.2 shows the educational attainment and occupational levels for the interviewees. It is based on gender and is divided into two educational categories, *Up to and Including Grade 12* and *Postsecondary Education*.[1]

The *Up to and Including Grade 12* category contains 17 of 40 or 43%, of the respondents. Most individuals in this category, 11 of 17 or 65%, had completed Grade 12. This level of educational attainment is often cited as the minimum requirement for most new employment positions. Only two individuals had less than a grade 10 education. However, both individuals had been employed with their companies for more than 10 years.

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[1] Postsecondary education includes trade school, technical, college and university.

Table 7.2. Aboriginal Employees by Educational Attainment and Gender

	Male (n=15)	**Female (n=25)**	**Total (n=40)**
Educational Level			
Up to & Including Grade 12	5	12	17
Postsecondary Education	10	13	23
Occupational Level[2]			
Managerial	9	11	20
Clerical	1	10	11
Service	5	4	9

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

The *Postsecondary Education* group had a larger proportion of Aboriginal males than Aboriginal females. Approximately 67% of males had some form of postsecondary education, compared with 52% of females. This is a different scenario than that described in the Aboriginal People's Survey conducted by Statistics Canada, which states that generally Aboriginal women have higher educational attainment levels than Aboriginal men (Statistics Canada, 1989b).[3] The educational attainment level of this sample is high, with many respondents having undergraduate and graduate degrees. Statistics Canada shows that 21% of the Canadian labour force has this educational attainment (1993).[4]

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[2] See Appendix I for a complete definition of employment categories.

[3] Statistics Canada shows that based on the 1986 Census of Canada, Aboriginal women held 35% of the trades certificates and diplomas; 56% of the other non-university education -- without certificates; 52% of the other non-university education -- with certificates; 55% of university without degrees; and 53% of university degrees with the Aboriginal community.

[4] This figure was arrived at by adding males and females who have university degrees and dividing by the Canadian population figures.

Data on occupational level show that 50% of the Aboriginal employees in this study were in some type of management or supervisory position. However, nobody in this study was in the highest LEEP occupational level: upper-level management. The largest number of individuals was in the middle and other managers category. More females (11) than males (9) were in management positions. However, a larger proportion of males (60%) were in management or supervisory positions compared with 44% of females.

This situation is different from the LEEP statistics in Chapter 6 that show more women in management than men. A large proportion of females (40%) were clerical workers, compared with 10% of male respondents. Data in Chapter 6 show a trend toward Aboriginal men being hired into clerical positions. The number of women in clerical positions in this sample was lower than that in the LEEP workforce in Chapter 6. The LEEP workforce showed approximately 67% of the female Aboriginal workforce in clerical positions.

Table 7.3 shows that few of the interviewees were new employees.

Table 7.3. Number of Aboriginal Employees by Occupational Level and Length of Employment

Occupational Level	Length of Employment		
	up to 23 Months (n=7)	**2 - 10 Years (n=19)**	**10 or More Years (N=14)**
Managerial	3	9	8
Clerical	4	7	--
Service	--	3	6

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

About half the employees (48%) had worked for their employers between two and 10 years, with 19 Aboriginal employees falling into this category. The largest number of new employees, those who worked for companies less than two years, were hired into the clerical category. Nobody was hired into the lowest occupational level in the last two years. The vast majority of the Aboriginal employees (83%) had worked with the same company for more than two years. The average length of current employment for Aboriginal employees in this study was 9 years. The LEEP statistics in Chapter 5 show that Aboriginal employees were being recruited continuously into the companies. This was not so with these companies, which appeared to have limited their number of new employees.

Table 7.4 shows the Aboriginal employees' educational attainment levels and work experience levels compared with those of their co-workers who did the same job. The employees were asked whether their educational attainment levels were above, below, or on a par with those of their co-workers who did the same job. In the managerial sector 30% said their educational attainment was higher than that of co-workers who did the same job. Half the respondents had the same education as co-workers; and while 15% had less. Those with less education were employed for more than 10 years. It is questionable whether these individuals would be hired today given the increased emphasis on educational achievement by these companies. However, these individuals did receive employer-sponsored training and obtained subsequent promotions. Fifty-five percent of clerical workers had higher or the same educational attainment as co-workers who did the same job. Fewer than half (45%) of respondents had less education than co-workers. Finally, 78% of service workers had the same or more education than their co-workers, and 22% had less.

Table 7.4. Aboriginal Employees by Occupational Level, Educational Attainment, and Job-Related Experience

	Occupational Level			Total
Educational Attainment	Managerial	Clerical	Service	
More	6	2	2	10
Less	3	5	2	10
Same	10	4	5	19
Don't Know	1	--	--	1
Job Related Experience				
More	9	2	7	18
Less	5	6	1	12
Same	6	3	1	10

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

Twenty-five percent of Aboriginal respondents had more education than co-workers; clerical workers had less education than co-workers whereas; and those in managerial positions had more. Seventy-three percent of the Aboriginal employees in this study were better educated than, or as well educated as, their co-workers. This is particularly true in the managerial sector where 80% of Aboriginal employees had the same as or higher educational levels than their co-workers who did the same job. This shows that employers were not prepared to hire Aboriginal people who have not attained educational credentials.

Employees were asked whether their job-related experience was above, below, or on a par with that of their co-workers who did the same job. In the managerial sector 45% said their job-related experience level was higher than that of their co-workers; 30% had the same job experience as co-workers; and 25% had less. Clerical workers had the largest number of individuals who had less job-related experience than their co-workers, whereas those in managerial positions tended to had more job experience. The situation of clerical workers having less job-related experience than their co-workers may be explained by the number of Aboriginal employees recently hired into the clerical sector. Most service workers had more job-related experience than their co-workers, which may show that they had been in their jobs for extended lengths of time.

Aboriginal employees who had more job-related experience than their co-workers who did the same job made up 45% of the sample. Those who had the same job-related experience level were 25% of the sample; those who had less job-related experience made up 30%. Most Aboriginal employees in this study were better educated than or as well educated as their co-workers who did the same job. This is particularly true in the managerial sector where 80% of Aboriginal employees had the same or higher educational levels as their co-workers who did the same job.

Table 7.5 shows the Aboriginal employees' educational attainment and their length of employment. The data show the largest number of Aboriginal employees with postsecondary attainment had been employed between two and 10 years. Sixty-three percent in this category had some form of postsecondary education.

Table 7.5. Length of Employment for Aboriginal Employees by Educational Attainment Level

Educational Level	**Length of Employment**			
	Up to 23 Months (n=7)	2 to 10 Years (n=19)	More than 11 Years (n=14)	Total (n=40)
Up to and Including Grade 12	2	7	8	17
Postsecondary Education	5	12	6	23

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

Those with postsecondary education were generally long-term employees. In fact, the average length of employment for those with postsecondary education was eight years. Of those who had been employed the longest, more than 10 years, 43% had postsecondary education. The length of employment for those with postsecondary education ranged from six months to 32 years.

7.2 Respondents' Insights

This section details the insight of Aboriginal employees within the four organizations. As mentioned in the above section, Aboriginal employees do a variety of tasks and hold many positions. Tables 7.6, 7.7, and 7.8 give the details of the Aboriginal employees' experience.

Table 7.6 shows whether Aboriginal employees felt their skills and training were being used in their current jobs. It also analyzes gender differences in the employers' use of Aboriginal employees' skills and training. The dependent variable is *skill and training used* whereas the independent variable is *educational attainment*.

Fifty-five percent of Aboriginal employees said their current employer used their skills and training. However, a large percentage, 45%, said their skills and training were not used. This situation is supported by the research of DePass et al. (1991) who, in their study of minorities in corporate Calgary, found that 49% of respondents in their study said they were working below their potential in current jobs. These respondents were concerned that they were unable to show their stuff because they were not placed in decision-making, problem-solving or supervisory situations that would allow superiors to see their skills.

When reviewed by educational attainment level, the data suggest that most (77%)

with lower levels of education said their employers were using their skills and training. However 61% of Aboriginal employees with postsecondary education said their employers were not using their skills and training. When asked to elaborate on this point, many employees said they were under employed in their present jobs. For example, individuals with professional degrees were placed in administrative and trainee positions. Respondents thought their skills and training could be used more wisely by their companies.

Table 7.6. Aboriginal Employees' Educational Attainment Level, Skills and Training Used by Gender

Educational Attainment Level	Skills and Training Used			
	Yes (n=22)		No (n=18)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Up to and Including Grade 12	5	8	--	4
Postsecondary Education	5	4	5	9
Total	10	12	5	13

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

One person said "I had a university degree that I worked hard for and I work answering telephone and making photocopies. If I could find a more challenging job, I'd leave in a minute" (Personal Interview Employee #16). This sentiment was also mentioned supported by others who resented being placed in menial jobs when they knew they could do much more. The employees felt they were being tested by the company to ensure their suitability or work ethic complemented the company. This practice caused dissatisfaction in employees who felt they had already proven themselves by obtaining degrees.

The data show that 67% of male respondents said their employers use their skills and training. However, this number declined when female employees were reviewed. Fifty-two percent of female employees said their employers were not using their skills and training. More females than males seemed under employed in their current jobs. This may be because of higher levels of educational attainment for Aboriginal women. Those women who felt their skills and training were not being used by their employers sensed that gender bias caused them to be under utilized. Many said "it's a man's world" and women are the "support staff" who help men achieve.

Aboriginal women with postsecondary education were 65% of those who said their employers were not using their skills and training. Women who said their skill and training was not being used by their employers were in all occupational levels, but were concentrated in the clerical sector. For example, women with university degrees were employed in entry-level and clerical positions. Some felt they were hired to satisfy Employment Equity Program guidelines, but were not able to work to their full potential. All men who said their skills were not used by their employers were in the management category. Some said they were not in decision-making positions and could not effect change in their companies as a result. Those in management positions felt they were placed there to "monitor the Aboriginals." One individual stated that one would be hard pressed to find an Aboriginal manager who was not head of an Aboriginal department or not responsible for Aboriginal employees. This individual felt there was ghettoization of Aboriginal managers with companies (Employee interview #40). Many saw themselves as tokens, simply placed in management positions for political and not practical purposes.

Table 7.7 shows whether the Aboriginal employees believed their present employer could meet their career goals. The majority (68%) agreed that their present employers could meet their career goals. Most of these individuals were in the managerial and clerical sectors. This is interesting given that most clerical workers did not view their current job as using their acquired skills and training. Some in management were uncertain whether their company could meet their career goals.

Table 7.7. Evaluation of Career Goals met by Company and Occupational Level

	Occupational Level			**Total**
Career Goals met by Company	Managerial	Clerical	Service	
Yes	13	9	6	27
No	4	2	1	7
Not Sure	3	--	--	3
No Response	1	--	2	3
Employee Total	20	11	9	40

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

Most employees said that their employers had encouraged their career development in the past few years. They were encouraged to upgrade their skills and enroll in a variety of development courses and programs. Most employees (33 of 40 or 83%) said they received career development encouragement. More women (22 of 25, or 88%) than men (11 of 15, or 73%) said they received encouragement. Male employees who were not encouraged to develop their careers were in the managerial occupational category. The data suggest that lower-level rather than higher-level employees were encouraged to develop careers. This is interesting because most Aboriginal managers were in middle rather than higher-level management, and could not hope to advance into upper-level management positions with training. This made managers feel they were stuck in their present jobs and that the only way to advance would be to leave the company. This situation describes the encapsulation facet of Kanter's (1978) tokenism theory. These people felt they were stuck in a middle management role from which could not emerge. This sense is supported by the lack of Aboriginal people in upper management in any of the case study organizations.

Table 7.8 shows the employment satisfaction by occupational level of the Aboriginal employees. Nobody was extremely dissatisfied. Generally, employees were satisfied with their jobs and saw a future for themselves with the company. A theme emerges that more managers than any other occupational categories were dissatisfied with their jobs, which may be because they were unable to make decisions and needed change in their workplace environment. They did not feel they had the autonomy they required to do their jobs effectively. This situation was support by Hagan and Kay (1995), who studied the legal profession and found that female lawyers felt limited in their ability to effect change, which led to job dissatisfaction.

Table 7.8. Employee Satisfaction by Occupational Level

	Occupational Level			**Total**
Degree of Employee Satisfaction	Managerial (n=20)	Clerical (n=11)	Service (n=9)	(n=40)
Satisfied	12	9	6	27
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	4	--	2	6
Dissatisfied	3	2	1	6
No Response	1	--	--	1

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

Those who were extremely dissatisfied with their employees were actively seeking other employment, certain that their education and job-related experience would assure them better, more fulfilling employment elsewhere.

7.2.1 Experiences as Aboriginal Employees

Tables 7.9 and 7.10 examine the respondents' subjective views of their experiences as Aboriginal employees within their organizations. Table 7.9 asks whether individuals thought their Aboriginal status had influenced their experiences at work and whether they ever encountered racial discrimination on the job.

Table 7.9. Influence of Aboriginal Status on Job and Gender; and Experienced Racial Discrimination

	Male (n=15)	Female (n=25)	Total (n=40)
Influence of Aboriginal Status			
Helped	4	8	12
Hindered	8	8	16
Neither	3	9	12
Experienced Racial Discrimination on Job			
Yes	10	10	20
No	5	15	20

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

Forty percent of the respondents said their Aboriginal status had hindered them in their companies. More males (53% compared with 32% of females) said their Aboriginal status had hindered them. More females (36%) compared with males (20%) said that their Aboriginal status had no impact on them in their employment or their workplace experiences.

When I asked respondents to explain why they thought their Aboriginal status had hindered them in their companies, I received many answers. Many respondents said they experienced marginalization at work that, in their opinion, only reinforces negative stereotypes of Aboriginals. They were hindered both socially and professionally by their

Aboriginal descent. Some were singled out and isolated by some co-workers and supervisors. Those who had Aboriginal co-workers said they "stick together." One respondent said, "It is pretty uncomfortable when you felt like others don't accept you" (Telephone Interview Employee #11).

Generally, Aboriginal employees felt they were expected to abandon anything that made them Aboriginal when they entered the workforce. It placed them in a contradictory situation. Some said they were hired specifically as Aboriginal employees to meet Employment Equity guidelines, but were told either explicitly or implicitly that they were employees first and Aboriginal second. For example, one employee was told that she or he could not take company time to attend an Aboriginal Employees' meeting set up by the company's Human Resources Department (Employee Interview # 12). As one employee put I. "They hire me because I'm Aboriginal and then want me to leave my identity at the door when I come to work. I can't do that" (Employee Interview # 18).

Some said their credentials were devalued. Although many Aboriginal employees had the same or more education than their co-workers, they were not accepted as competent, skilled workers. Some said co-workers seemed surprised that the Aboriginal employee had technical knowledge and knew industry procedures and jargon. Most said they had to prove themselves as reliable and skilled workers to co-workers and supervisors. They resented being under scrutiny. One respondent said, "Who are they to judge me? They were company employees just like me. It's not up to them to determine whether I'm competent" (Employee Interview # 18).

Sometimes the marginalization and the initial chilly atmosphere did subside, but although the workplace climate did thaw, there was usually only a tepid atmosphere between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal workers. One respondent said, "We don't get invited over to their houses for barbecues" (Personal interview, Employee #25). Many said their close friends at work were other Aboriginal employees.

A manager who had worked for the company for 17 years said he or she did not let others in the company know he or she was Aboriginal until recently. He or she said he or she was fair-skinned and could pass for non-Aboriginal. He or she said he or she wanted to make it in the company and he or she felt that being Aboriginal would be detrimental to advancement. He or she made this assumption based on remarks made about Aboriginal people by co-workers and supervisors. He or she said he or she decided to remain quiet about his or her Aboriginal heritage. He or she was apprehensive about recently coming out (Employee Interview # 37). This situation is common for Aboriginal people who had fair complexions and can pass as a non-Aboriginal. One respondent said that her Aboriginal co-workers who had dark complexions and spoke with accents were particularly singled out for bad treatment by some co-workers (Employee Interview # 18).

The experiences mentioned above support the tokenism typology as described by Kanter (1978), who defined a token as a member of a subgroup that comprised less than 15% of the whole group. She stated that tokens experience three common occurrences in their workplace. First, they receive heightened attention or visibility that exacerbated pressure to do well. Second, they feel isolated from informal social and professional networks. Third, they report a variety of incidents showing they were *encapsulated* in a stereotyped role . Encapsulated means they feel stuck in a role from which they cannot emerge.

Most employees mentioned pressure to do well and always be on. This meant that they had to be conscious of themselves always because they never knew who might be watching, and someone was always watching. Many noted that when they began with the companies co-workers (non-Aboriginal) seemed nervous and unnatural around them. "It was like they had to watch their P's and Q's around me. That was uncomfortable. Luckily that did not last too long" (Personal interview employee #37).

Marginalization by co-workers caused some employees to seek out the companionship of other Aboriginal workers (if there were any). Most respondents said they were the only Aboriginal person working in their department. This led to social and emotional isolation for some Aboriginal employees who withdrew or failed to integrate fully into the workplace. One respondent said, "I only have to work there. They get 7.5 hours of my time each day. After work I have my own friends" (Personal interview #1). However, some took the opposite approach by actively involving themselves in activities at work. They tried to make friends and overlook the chilliness and rebuffs of some co-workers.

Half the employees said they experienced racial discrimination. The data show 67% of males and 40% of females experienced racial discrimination on the job. Some Aboriginal employees used coping strategies such as minimizing their racially discriminatory experiences, a mechanism similar to those used by women to deal with workplace sexual harassment (Hagan, 1995). Many said co-workers or supervisors telling of "Indian jokes" in their presence hurt them, but they (the Aboriginal employee) knew that they tell the jokes just in fun. Some received assurances from their non-Aboriginal co-workers and supervisors that, although they may be Aboriginal, they (the Aboriginal employee) were not like them.

In this situation, an attempt is often made by non-Aboriginal workers to exclude their Aboriginal co-worker from their own preconceived, often prejudicial notion of Aboriginal people. For example, some non-Aboriginal workers may view Aboriginals as lazy and drunkards, but assures his or her Aboriginal co-workers that he or she is different and not a part of the stereotype.

Table 7.10 shows the occupational levels of the Aboriginal employees who experienced racial discrimination at their jobs. Those in management experienced more racial discrimination, which may be because of their longer seniority. Aboriginal managers said they experienced racial discrimination from their colleagues rather than their subordinates. "It is very hard to work with someone who has said or done something that has hurt you to your core. Still, you need the job so you persevere" (Employee Interview # 21).

Table 7.10. Occupational Level by Experience with Racial Discrimination

Occupational Level	Experience Racial Discrimination		
	Yes (n=20)	No (n=20)	Total (n=40)
Managerial	14	6	20
Clerical	2	9	11
Service	4	5	9

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

7.3 Aboriginal Employees' Experience with Company Equity Programs

Table 7.11 shows the Aboriginal employees' experiences with their organization's Employment Equity programs. All employers in this study had some type of Aboriginal/Employment Equity program in place. Because of disparities in program development, some company's policies were more advanced than those of others. Most employees did not know about their company's Employment Equity policy.

Table 7.11 shows the respondents' experience and support for the Employment Equity program. Most respondents (65%) said they did not know about their employer's employment equity programs, which may reflect the profile or importance the program is given in the company.

Table 7.11. Aboriginal Employees Experience with EEP by Gender

	Male (n=15)	Female (n=25)	Total (n=40)
EEP Explained			
Yes	7	7	14
No	8	18	26
Benefited from EEP			
Yes	4	9	13
No	11	14	25
No Response	--	2	2
Support EEP			
Yes	12	21	33
No	3	3	6
Not Sure	--	1	1

Source: Aboriginal Employee Interview Data, 1996.

If a program does not reach its intended audience, then it cannot be effective. Those who did know about the policies learned about them from workshops, new employee orientations, and company literature. Of the 26 who stated that the company did not tell them about the policy 54% found out about the policies anyway. They said they were made aware of the policies by fellow Aboriginal workers or that they read manuals and other literature about the program. Relatively few Aboriginal employees believed they had benefited from their company's Employment Equity programs. Thirty-four percent believe they had benefited from the program, but the majority (66%) did not believe they had.

Those who believed they had benefited from the company's Employment Equity policy said the primary benefit was their ability to obtain employment. Most employees who said the program caused them to gain employment were employed for the shortest length of time -- less than two years. None of the long-term employees felt they benefited from the program.

Although gaining employment was an obvious benefit of the EEP, some gave more obscure advantages. Some felt the EEP forced companies to hire more Aboriginal people. Others said a benefit was that non-Aboriginal workers would have more positive exposure to Aboriginal people, which might cause them to change some of their prejudices. One Aboriginal worker said, "it was enjoyable not being the only Aboriginal in his or her department, anymore" (Employee Interview #34). Many Aboriginal employees worked in isolation from each other. Most were the only Aboriginal employee in their department and felt they were on a constant mission to educate non-Aboriginals about the Aboriginal world view or issues. Most felt uncomfortable being asked to translate events for non-Aboriginal co-workers or supervisors. Many were asked to speak on issues on behalf of Aboriginal people, which is an uncomfortable situation for most. As one individual put it, "Why would I expect an Irish man to speak for all Irish people? One person only has one voice and should not be expected to speak for 'his' people" (Employee Interview #38).

Generally, Aboriginal employees (83%) agreed with the idea of Employment Equity. Those in agreement said that Aboriginal people needed a way to get into the companies. They believed that, once employed, the Aboriginal employees could prove themselves as reliable and valuable employees. Inaccessibility was viewed a the main problem. Systemic barriers such as hiring offices in distant locations and unrealistic or unjustifiable[5] educational requirements were also seen as problematic. Many believed in strength in numbers.

Those who disagreed with the EEP said that Aboriginal people were no different from other people and should be hired only on merit. There is a view that employment equity as it now stands does not work for Aboriginal people. Only those with the resources to compete in the general workforce were benefiting.

7.4 Summary

Aboriginal employees found themselves in a strange position in the workplace. Although they were similar to the general workforce in many regards, most having seniority and educational credentials, many were treated differently by their employers and co-workers. Workplace discrimination, negative stereotypes, underemployment, and isolation were a reality for many Aboriginal employees. The Aboriginal people in this study were primarily married with dependent children. Many female employees (50%) who had children living with them were single-parents. Generally, the Aboriginal employees were well educated, and well experienced employees with 58% having postsecondary education and 80% having specialized training. Most worked full-time (75%) and had an average employment span of 8.5 years. They also performed a variety of duties, including technical and specialized tasks.

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[5] Unjustifiable educational requirements refers to minimal levels of educational attainment -- primarily a Grade 12 education, which is viewed as a screening device to eliminate potential employees.

Most had as much as or more education (73%) and job related experience (70%) than others in the same job. The fact that many individuals had more education than their co-workers suggests that they may have been underemployed. The data show individuals with university degrees being placed in clerical or sales positions. Human capital theory has placed Aboriginal employees in a curious position. On one hand, they were given entry into the workplace because of their educational achievement, but on the other hand, they were placed in menial positions that do not use their skills and training. These people felt their jobs were dead-end and were dissatisfied with the lack of challenge. Some were looking for other jobs.

Most employees said they felt their career goals could be met by the company. Many occupied managerial and supervisory positions where few were hired into these positions, meaning that most were promoted into this category. However, they said they had limited autonomy and authority, which was a source of resentment. They did not see themselves moving out of middle management and said they felt they had advanced as far as they could in their company. Men in management positions said they were not encouraged to develop their careers any further than they already had.

Respondents with the least education were the most satisfied, whereas the most educated were the least satisfied. Given the increased educational attainment levels required for employment, those with the lowest levels of education would not have been employed with these companies. They would had been screened out.

Half the respondents reported experiencing racial discrimination at work. This made the working environments uncomfortable. It seems that prejudice and stereotyping of

Aboriginal employees by co-workers and supervisors is prevalent. Aboriginal employees found themselves in a precarious position and elements of Kanter's (1978) tokenism theory were a reality for them. They felt they were put under a microscope by their supervisors and co-workers. Many felt they must prove themselves as reliable, competent, and trained workers.

Many Aboriginal employees found themselves in social and physical isolation. They resented feeling they had to prove themselves to co-workers. Many incidents of racial discrimination were not reported as employees said they did not want to be seen as someone "who runs to the boss" when incidents happen. In some situations, the supervisor was the source of the problem. Aboriginal employees felt physically isolated when they were the only Aboriginal person in a department and often felt they were a curiosity to other non-Aboriginal employees. For some, social acceptance was slow in coming; for others it did not come at all. Negative stereotypes held by co-workers and supervisors had to be overcome by some Aboriginal employees for them to gain acceptance. When they were accepted by other employees, they were sometimes told that they were "not like those other Indians". Although this was said to make them feel accepted, this did not dispel negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people still held by co-workers.

Employers appear to had done poorly at informing their employees about their employment equity policies. In fact, the vast majority, 65%, were not told about this program by their employers. Those most recently hired (employed for less than two years) were more knowledgeable about the program than other employees. Most Aboriginal employees who knew about the policy were made aware of it by other Aboriginal employees. However, generally, Aboriginal employees agreed with the notion of employment equity, but many were uncertain about the company's effectiveness in removing employment barriers for Aboriginal people.

Most Aboriginal employees did not feel they had benefited from their company's program as many were relatively new. Many respondents began working with these organizations before the implementation of the Employment Equity policy. Only those who were hired recently felt they had benefited. However, although these new recruits were overwhelmingly well educated (with postsecondary education), they occupied primarily low-level, entry positions. They were employed, but they were underemployed.

Employment Equity policies have had little impact on the Aboriginal employees. Some said the policies had caused them to be less accepted in the workplace and their credentials to be devalued. New employees said they were told, sometimes openly, that the only reason they were hired was that they were Aboriginal. During times of downsizing and fear of job loss, co-workers were sometimes resentful when new Aboriginal recruits were hired.

The data show more men in management positions, which is different from the LEEP statistics that show more women in management. There were also fewer women in clerical positions in this sample than in the LEEP workforce. Here, women occupy 40% of clerical positions, whereas they were 67% of the LEEP workforce.

Respondents did not appear to had any characteristics that set them apart from the *average* workforce other than their Aboriginal heritage. They appeared to satisfy the tenets of human capital theory that state that those who had characteristics, namely educational attainment and job-related experience, that employers value will find employment. These Aboriginal employees were generally long-term employees with high levels of job-related experience and educational attainment. In fact, their levels of educational attainment exceeded those of the Canadian labour force, according to Statistics Canada.

The fact that they were Aboriginal seemed to determine their experience within the workplace. Initially, it influenced their interactions with co-workers and supervisors and their education and job-related experience did little to alter their initiation into the company.

These employees, because of their education and experience, would probably have no difficulty finding work if they chose to leave their employer. Employers did not "go out on a limb" when they hired these individuals. They were already qualified, and most required little additional training to do their jobs. Employers seem cautious in managing these employees, and sometimes they had to wait many years before receiving promotions, in one case, more than 25 years.

These organizations may lose many of their Aboriginal employees if they do not treat them better. The organizations' treatment of Aboriginal employees is paradoxical. They hold them to the same standards as non-Aboriginals to gain employment, but treat them differently once employed. Many felt blocked by discrimination and prejudice in their employment advancement and opportunities in the non-Aboriginal world. They were not hired into positions commensurate with their education and job experience levels, and whey they were hired, they found their employer did not use their skills and training. Aboriginal employees were expected to assimilate into the workplace with little official recognition of their Aboriginal heritage. Employees had similar experiences in all the organizations studied.

No one employer, according to the respondents, had better programs or policies than any other. All employers shared equally in both satisfied and dissatisfied employees.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Introduction

My research locates the Aboriginal employee in the Canadian labour force. I did this by analyzing the Aboriginal employees' workforce participation under the Employment Equity Act and with a company that calls itself *Canada's largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people*. Through an analysis of change over time for annual reports, case studies, and interviews, I was able to gain insights into the Aboriginal employment experience in Canada.

This research used three data sources. These sources changed the focus of my research from a macro-analysis with the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports to a more focused analysis through explorations of the programs and policies of the case study organizations to a micro-analysis of the experiences and perceptions of Aboriginal employees.

First, I conducted an analysis of change over time for the Employment Equity Annual Reports to compare the advancement of Aboriginal people with that of the other designated groups. Here I asked whether Aboriginal people have benefited under this legislation, which aims to improve the employment prospects of historically disadvantaged groups. Second, my project identified employment initiatives taken by case study organizations. Interpretations are offered about why specific programs are more beneficial to Aboriginal people than others. Last, through interviews with Aboriginal employees working with (or who had worked with) the case study organizations, I examine their subjective experiences and perceptions of their workplace.

Although Aboriginal people have had limited participation in the Canadian labour force in the past, has this situation changed over time? Have changes in the Aboriginal community, primarily increases in educational achievement and job-related experiences, caused Aboriginal people to become more integrated into the workforce and more successful in the workforce? By *integrated in the workplace*, I mean have Aboriginal people have increased their representation and are they participants throughout the workplace hierarchy and not concentrated in occupational ghettos? By *more successful in the workforce,* I mean are Aboriginal employees occupying positions of status and authority in the workplace and do they have better paying and more secure jobs? And thus are they advancing up the corporate ladder?

Major themes in the literature review include Aboriginal employment, barriers to Aboriginal employment, the Employment Equity Act and the effect of the Employment Equity Act on Aboriginal employment. The socioeconomic position of Aboriginal people in Canada was the subject of many academic and government descriptive reports that documented the dismal social and economic situation of Aboriginal people and confirmed the high unemployment rates within the Aboriginal community. Some report findings generated training and employment programs. Early reports of Aboriginal employment focused on characteristics of the Aboriginal worker and negative stereotypes that labelled Aboriginal people as unreliable and largely unskilled workers. Few reports looked at the employment barriers such as racism and systemic discrimination within companies that negatively affected Aboriginal people and their ability to obtain employment. Later literature on Aboriginal employment focused on Native employment programs within corporations. These books reported case study analyses on select corporations with Native employment programs. They showcased rather than critiqued the programs. In addition, they did not speak with Aboriginals working within those companies to obtain their views. One of the newest books under review looked at Aboriginal entrepreneurships in Canada's north. The author highlighted Native values as beneficial to business success.

Barriers to Aboriginal employment were viewed as Aboriginals' lack of educational attainment and suitable job skills as a justification for not employing them. Essentially, Aboriginals were at fault for their inability to find employment because they had not invested in education and job skills. Discrimination in society and in the workplace was also cited as a reason for limited participation of Aboriginals in the workforce.

Literature on the Employment Equity Act focused on the Royal Commission (1984) to study the effects of discrimination within the Canadian workforce. The findings of *the Abella Report* found established patterns of workplace discrimination that had a negative impact on members of the four designated groups: women, Aboriginals, visible minorities, and the disabled. The Act forced employers falling under the legislation to increase the representation and status of designated group members. Opponents to the legislation stated that it was little more than reverse discrimination. The issue of mandatory programs to promote the interests of historically disadvantaged groups has become a political minefield and drew heated debate from both proponents and opponents.

An examination of the literature on Employment Equity and Aboriginals in Canada showed that Aboriginal people were marginalized within the four designated groups covered under Employment Equity legislation. Little research was conducted on this group and few if any programs were aimed specifically at them. To date, no comprehensive analysis has been conducted to assess the effectiveness of the Employment Equity legislation on Aboriginal people.

This study used three data sets to ascertain the position of Aboriginal employees and thus required a variety of data gathering techniques (methodological triangulation). The study had three parts. The first is an analysis of Employment Equity data that shows the change in Aboriginal representation in the Employment Equity Workforce (EEW) from the legislation that was enacted in 1986. The second involves case studies of a diverse group of employers from a variety of industrial sectors: resource based, telecommunications, finance, and education. An analysis of employment equity initiatives undertaken in the case studies can be significant to other employers who must maintain required levels of employees from the designated groups. Attracting and retaining Native employees is important to employers because the native community is the fastest growing segment of Canadian society and will represent a larger portion of the employee pool in the future. The third part presents an Aboriginal employee profile that highlights the characteristics and experiences of Aboriginal employees working in the case study organizations.

8.1 Research Findings

8.1.1 Employment Equity Act Annual Reports

This chapter locates Aboriginal employees within the approximately 370 federally regulated employers included in Human Resources Development Canada's *Annual Employment Equity Act Report to Parliament*. Comparisons are drawn between Aboriginals and other members of the designated groups: women, visible minorities, and the disabled. I address the overall quantitative employment trends for *full-time* Aboriginal employees under the Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) from 1987 to 1995.

The research findings in Chapter 5 provide the answer the first research question, *Have Aboriginal employees increased their representation in EEW under the Employment Equity Act?*

Data show that representation in the EEW by the designated groups have women with the largest number, followed by visible minorities, disabled people, and Aboriginals. When comparing the EEW and the Canadian Labour Force (CLF) representation, the data showed that women were on a par, visible minorities were over represented and both Aboriginals and disabled people were under represented. The fact that Aboriginals and disabled people are under represented in the EEW indicates that more must be done by federally regulated companies to increase their representation.

The rates of growth between the two workforces also differed. The EEW showed a small increase of 1.3% in its workforce but the CLF increased 8.0%. Women gained the most in number (19,643) and in their percentage of representation in the EEW from 41.2% to 44.5%. Their EEW representation has gained parity with the CLF. They also made advances into upper-level and middle management. However, the majority (63.4%) were clerical workers, a low-paying and low-status occupation. The male/female salary ratio increased from 1:70.1 in 1987 to 1:75.5 in 1995.

Visible minorities also gained in their representation in the EEW. By 1995 they were over represented in the EEW, whereas their representation in the CLF remained constant.

Visible minority women gained in middle management and clerical positions, but lost ground or remained unchanged in the other categories. Visible minority males increased in the professional and clerical categories. Disabled people gained in representation in the EEW. However, after continuous gains throughout the period under review, by 1995 they were under represented in the EEW with approximately half of their representation in the CLF. Disabled women gained the most in middle management while men gained in clerical positions. Women in all designated groups were concentrated in clerical positions that are characterized by low pay and little authority or autonomy.

Aboriginals' representation advanced in the EEW from 1.3% in 1987 to 2.0% in 1995. However, they still comprise the smallest representative share of the designated groups.

The Employment Equity Act's objective of distributing designated group members throughout the organizational hierarchy has not yet been fulfilled, although some efforts have been made to achieve this goal. Again, the data for Aboriginal employees reveal gender and racial enclaves in the workplace. The largest change in Aboriginal women's employment from 1987 to 1995 has them moving into the middle and other managers category.

Aboriginals continue to be employed in this low-paying, low-authority, low-status occupation at greater rates than members of the other designated groups. Both Aboriginal males and females earned less money than the nondesignated males and females. Aboriginal mens' salaries ranged from a low of 85.2% of nondesignated mens' salary to a high of 90.4%. The data show that Aboriginal mens' salaries are declining in proportion to nondesignated mens'. Although both salaries are increasing, nondesignated mens' salaries are increasing at a higher rate. The same is true for Aboriginal women. Their salaries are proportionally lower than women's salaries. Like Aboriginal males, Aboriginal females have witnessed an increasing gap between their salaries and women's salaries. Aboriginal women's salaries ranged from a low of 87.3% of nondesignated women's salary to a high of 92.2%. The data show that both Aboriginal mens' and women's salaries have declined approximately 5% in proportion to nondesignated mens' and women's.

Increases in the representation of Aboriginal employees in the EEW have been achieved in part by increased hiring of Aboriginals. Aboriginal employee hirings have occurred at a rate higher than their representation in the workforce, but Aboriginal employee terminations have also been consistently higher than their representation in the EEW. The net gain in Aboriginal employee populations is 433 employees. Aboriginal employee received 0.6% of all promotions, which is below their EEW representation of 0.7% in 1987. In 1995 they were but 1.2% of EEW and received 1.4% of all promotions. Aboriginal women received 51% of the Aboriginal promotions.

The data show a slight increase in the number of Aboriginal people employed with LEEP companies. The increase of Aboriginal employees in the approximately 370 federally regulated companies is not as great at the increases of the other designated groups. The data show that Aboriginal people have benefited from the program but not to the same degree as others either in numbers or in representation. Increased efforts must be undertaken to increase Aboriginal employees' representation both in and throughout the workplace hierarchy. The Annual Employment Equity Reports to Parliament show Aboriginal employees were employed in primarily low-paying, low-status positions.

The position of Aboriginal people in the EEW has increased. However, the gains that have been made have been small. Aboriginal employees are hired into limited positions in the workplace hierarchy. They are concentrated in clerical positions and continue to be hired into this category with representation increasing throughout the study period. One might expect that, given increasing educational levels within the Aboriginal community, Aboriginal employees would have more varied access to employment. Clerical positions appear to be the ports of entry for Aboriginal employees, which is not an effective use of skill workers.

The program should continue, however, changes must be made. The policy must be enforceable. It appears that employers view the program as more bothersome than anything. In meetings that I attended, employers viewed it as merely another intrusion by the government.

8.1.2 Case Study Analyses

The research findings in Chapter 6 answer the second set of research questions, *Which employment practices effectively increase Aboriginal representation in the case study organizations? Which policies and practices create barriers to increased Aboriginal representation?*

All case study organizations have taken steps by setting policy to increase the number and proportional representation of Aboriginal people. Some have been more successful than others, and in some cases representation has decreased. However, while all were trying to increase Aboriginal representation in their workforce (some obliged to do so by legislation) representation declined up to 50% in some organizations. This not only shows those program efforts ineffective, but also that they are not a priority. When a program whose designed to increase representation loses up to half its constituents, something is wrong.

There was a great deal of similarity between the organizations. For example, all organizations were forced by an outside agency to implement their Aboriginal/employment equity program. Three of the organizations fell under the Employment Equity Act and were therefore required to participate. Syncrude, although not part of legislation, was required to implement an Aboriginal employment program as a condition of obtaining its operating license according to its president Eric Newell.

Private sector organizations (Syncrude, Telus, and the CIBC) all appeared to be market-driven in their pursuit of Aboriginal employment. Syncrude has implemented a "sole source contract program" for service contracts for Aboriginal business. This is an opportunity for Aboriginal people to become entrepreneurs, but it also has the potential for Syncrude to lower its costs, hence increasing its profitability. The small companies offer employees less career mobility than the Syncrude bureaucracy. Both Telus and the CIBC appear motivated to increase their Aboriginal employee numbers as a means of advancing into an untapped Aboriginal market. As one interviewee stated, "It's like they just discovered that we have money" (Telephone interview, Aboriginal employee #32).

All organizations, because of their size and bureaucratic structure, have the potential to implement an internal labour market. This means that people from within the organization can obtain promotions and collect the salary increases and authority that go with them. The promotions given to Aboriginals at the CIBC were commensurate with their representation in the workforce. However, their representation is lower than their proportion of the population in the community. More must be done to increase Aboriginal representation within these organizations.

As for the state of Aboriginal employment in the case study organizations, there are both good aspects and bad. The good aspects are that all organizations are in a position to employ more Aboriginal people in the future. However, all organizations show ghettoization of Aboriginal people in their workforces. For example, the University of Alberta shows a concentration of Aboriginal people in the clerical sector; Syncrude shows a concentration of Aboriginals in the heavy equipment operators category. These jobs are low-status and have limited autonomy and authority.

Aboriginals were under represented in all the organizations. Syncrude was nearest its goal, but still falls short. Syncrude is in a unique position because it has located in an area with a high Aboriginal population, which is not the case with the other organizations, which are based in areas where there are fewer Aboriginal people. Syncrude had the largest number of Aboriginal employees although it had the smallest workforce, approximately 9.5% of its workforce being Aboriginal. Syncrude is below its goal of parity for Aboriginal employees. Aboriginal people represent 13% of the local population. The other companies had representation of about 1%, which is approximately one third of what it should be if parity with Aboriginal population representation is to be reached.

All organizational policies contain barriers to Aboriginal employment. All appear to implement the educational screening mechanism of human capital theory. Each organization refers to its need for "qualified" Aboriginal recruits. However, the types of jobs most

Aboriginal employees perform do not require high levels of education. For example, not every Aboriginal person hired at the University of Alberta will be a professor and require a doctoral degree. Most Aboriginal employees in the case study organizations are concentrated in clerical and low-level positions.

Downsizing has been detrimental to attempts to increase Aboriginal workforce representation in all case study organizations. It does not appear that any special efforts were made to avoid reducing Aboriginal representation in some of the companies when downsizing was implemented. Aboriginals were terminated by their employers even when a policy was in place to increase their representation. Downsizing has played a major role in employment equity implementation and effectiveness. The timing of the program was unfortunate as trying to set up such a program during a time of fiscal restraint is difficult. This situation takes the focus away from equity and places it on what managers deem more important issues. Syncrude maintained the highest percentage of Aboriginal employees during the downsizing phenomenon.

Syncrude appears to be making progress in its efforts to increase Aboriginal employment within the company. The hiring freeze implemented by the company has had positive results. Some organizations lost up to half of their Aboriginal staff while they were supposed to increase Aboriginal representation in their workforce. Not only were Aboriginal employees lost, but they were not replaced.

There were varying rates of compliance with the program. Telus and the CIBC complied with employment equity most rapidly: Telus Corporation filed its first report within months and the CIBC filed its first employer's report in 1987. Conversely, the U of

A took seven years to implement its program. Reports for the Aboriginal community state that Syncrude "dragged its heels in implementing an Aboriginal program."

The commitment of management is important to a program's success. Managers from all organizations have said that equity policies are important and have put committees in place to implement policy. With some companies, this has been the extent of the management involvement, and the function of monitoring policies has not been under their direction or scrutiny. As a result, some policies are not earnestly implemented. Some middle managers, those usually delegated to implement policies, opposed the concept of employment equity and drag their feet when it comes to policy implementation. For example, a groups formed at the University of Alberta to oppose employment equity. Its members were unhappy that the *Opening Doors* policy was implemented and may yet try to stall the process. Three of the four organizations studies showed signs of overt resistance to Aboriginal/employment equity programs.

Policy implementation must be embraced by all employees in the organizations, and upper- level management must take an active role in implementation and monitoring. One person cannot carry the program in an organization, as was evident in two organizations covered under the LEEP that I studied. These people were frustrated by the inactivity and nonsupport of upper management.

The most successful plan I found in this study was the *Opening Doors* policy at the University of Alberta. However, implementation could be difficult given the opposition the policy has received based on many arguments. Perhaps the most prevalent is the idea that equity causes unqualified people to be hired simply to meet a quota, which many feel is unfair. People think that it is not fair for a member of the designated groups to get a job without having to go through the same rigours of credentialling that they did. They see meritocracy as the only means to gaining employment. If this is the case, Aboriginal employees should be obtaining their share of jobs throughout the workplace hierarchy. They should not be under represented and not be located in low-paying, low-status job enclaves.

The most unique program was the Social Assistance program with the CIBC, although it was discontinued after only two terms. The least successful program was Syncrude's letter-of-intent program, which netted only a handful of successes. The most culturally specific program was the Aboriginal Circle program for Aboriginal employees at Telus Corporation. The most successful program in terms of increasing the representation of Aboriginal employees in the company, which is what employment equity is all about, was the Syncrude hiring freeze program that restricted hiring to all except university graduates and Aboriginals.

The organizations fall below the mandate of the Employment Equity Act. I get the sense that they are looking for a "quick fix." However, they must be prepared to invest time and resources into increasing Aboriginal representation in their organizations. Increased educational attainment levels and long periods of seniority for Aboriginal employees (which increases job-related experience and supporst the notion of worker reliabilty) in the Aboriginal community make it more difficult for organizations to say there are no suitable Aboriginals to fill positions in their companies. The earnest initiates must come from them.

8.1.3 Employee Profiles and Experiences

Chapter 7 provides a micro-analysis of Aboriginal employment by placing 40 Aboriginal employees within their companies to capture their perceptions and experiences. I conducted telephone and in-person interviews using a semistructured format to explore the everyday experiences of these Aboriginal employees in their workplace environment. The research findings in Chapter 7 answer the third research question, *Do Aboriginal employees believe their ancestry is a factor in their workplace experiences? If so, how?*

Participants, 15 men (37%) and 25 women (63%), had diverse life situations. Some were married and some were single. Most had dependent children living with them. They were also at different stages of their working life with some beginning their careers after many years of educational preparation while others were nearing retirement. Most employees (88%) had specialized training, ranging from technical job-related courses to postgraduate degrees.

Regarding education, 58% of the participants had some form of postsecondary education. Seventy three percent of respondents had more or the same educational attainment levels as co-workers who performed the same job. In addition, 70% of respondents had more or the same job-related experience as co-workers who performed the same job.

Half the Aboriginal respondents were not promoted. The seniority for this group ranges from six months to 27 years. The respondents who have received promotion have been employed for an average of 13.5 years with seniority ranging from two months to 32 years. Sixty-five percent of the Aboriginal employees who received promotions had job-related experience when they started with their employers. Most who received promotions were hired into low-level positions although they had specialized training and job-related experience. It appears that employers are using low-level ports of entry for these employees despite their academic achievement and employment experience.

Data on occupational level show that 50% of the Aboriginal employees in this study were in some type of management or supervisory position. However, nobody in this study has in the highest LEEP occupational level: upper level management. The largest number of individuals was in the middle and other managers category with more women (11) than men (9). Of the few new recruits in the past 23 months, only 17% fell into this category. However, five of seven or 71% had postsecondary education. Most have worked between two to 10 years with 19 or 48% falling into this category.

Slightly more than half (55%) of the Aboriginal employees felt their skills and training were being used in their current jobs. However, more of those with higher (than lower) education levels said their skills and training were not been used by their employers. There also appears to be a gender bias in the use of employees' skills and training and more women than men say their skills and training are not being used by their employer.

Most respondents said their employers had encouraged their career development. However, men in middle management said they were not encouraged to develop their careers. This suggests that Aboriginal people are not expected to seek upper-level management positions with these organizations and that a glass ceiling is in place.

Generally, employees were satisfied with their jobs and saw a future for themselves with the company. However, more managers than any other occupational categories were dissatisfied with their jobs because they were not empowered to make decisions and initiate needed change.

When asked whether individuals thought their Aboriginal status had influenced their experiences at work, 40% said it hindered them, 30% said that it did not, and an additional 30% said that neither helped nor hindered them.

When questioned about whether they had ever encountered racial discrimination on the job, half said they had. Racism is evident when there is an assumption that Aboriginal people are uneducated and therefore unqualified. Some racism is overt such as mimicking an Indian accent; others are more secretive. For example, one individual had signs placed on walls at work telling of employment opportunities with the company and that "only Indians need apply." The event shook this person and caused him or her to question who of the co-workers would do such a thing. Some supervisors also berated them for "bringing their Indian issues to work." Aboriginal employees who experienced racial incidents at work said that knowing who the racists are was better than to having to guess. Those in management reported experiencing more racial discrimination, which may be due to their longer seniority. Aboriginal managers said they experienced racial discrimination from their colleagues rather than from their subordinates.

Regarding their employer's Aboriginal/employment equity programs, most respondents (65%) stated they did not know about such programs. Those who did know about the policies learned about them from workshops, new employee orientations, and company literature. Few respondents believed they had benefited from their company's programs. Those who did said their primary benefit was their ability to obtain employment.

Generally, respondents (83%) agreed with the idea of employment equity, saying that Aboriginal people needed a way into the companies. However, others questioned the impact of this policy on increasing the number of Aboriginal employees. One interviewee posed the question:

> Why not diversify at the top where all the middle-aged, Anglo-Saxon men are? The diversity all seems to be happening at the bottom in the low-paying jobs with no power or authority. People are brought in at entry level even though we have the education and experience to come in higher up the pecking order" Why can't we be up there where things are happening and decisions are being made? (Personal Interview with Aboriginal Employee, 1996)

Respondents did not appear to have any characteristics that set them apart from the "average" workforce other than their Aboriginal heritage. The fact that they were Aboriginal seemed to determine their experience within the workplace. Initially, it influenced their interactions with co-workers and supervisors. Their education and job-related experience did little to alter their initiation into the company. These employees, because of their education and experience, would probably not have trouble finding work if they chose to leave their employer. The employers did not "go out on a limb" when they hired these individuals. They were already qualified and most required little additional training to do their jobs. The employer seems cautious in managing these employees to the point of sometimes making them wait many years for promotions.

Racism and discrimination are prevalent in the workplace, but it is not as overt as it once was. Political correctness has stopped some people from telling "Indian jokes" at work, but not stopped some from other practices. Comments are made about *Indianness*. Those who speak with accents or have dark skin are singled out (Personal Interview with Aboriginal employee, 1996). Those who do not fit a negative Aboriginal *stereotype* are sometimes told that they are the "exception to the rule" and not "like those other Indians" (Personal Interview with Aboriginal employee, 1996).

Aboriginal employees are placed in a precarious situation. They are who they are -- Aboriginals. Some are hired into their positions as part of an Aboriginal program, but they are expected to abandon anything that makes them Aboriginal.

The findings discussed in this chapter advance the argument that companies must change their structures and policies if they hope to make the workplace more welcoming to Aboriginal employees. Efforts must also be made to eliminate the "us and them" stance. The data show that Aboriginal employees are ready, willing, and able to work. They have proven themselves as educated, experienced, and reliable workers. However, they have difficulty shaking negative stereotypes and many suffer workplace discrimination as a result.

8.2 Support or Rejection of Theoretical Perspectives

The theoretical perspectives explored in this research are supported by the data. Elements of human capital theory, the segmented labour market theory, and organizational perspectives are supported by the research findings.

8.2.1 Human Capital Theory

The meritocratic underpinnings of human capital theory explain aspects of the Aboriginal employment experience in Canada. Human capital theory states that an individual who invests time, energy, and money in the pursuit of education, training, and other qualities deemed useful will increase his or her own worth, which in turn makes him or her more valuable to the employer. It further holds that those in a disadvantaged position in the labour market owe their inferior status to their lack of investment in themselves and that the individual is responsible for arming himself or herself with attributes valuable to a prospective employer.

This theory assumes many things about society generally, and the workplace specifically. First, perhaps most important, this perspective assumes equality of opportunity and equality of condition for all. Equality of opportunity refers to the realities of social stratification, the hierarchical arrangement of rights, privileges, and power in society. Although this theory has weaknesses, it has been the basis of Aboriginals' limited participation in the workforce. It highlights the role of education and explains, in a limited way, how better-educated Aboriginals are getting better jobs and entering the middle class. Employers use elements of this theory, and its practice of using education and job-related experience, as a screening mechanism to limit access to the organizations. However, human capital theory has been internalized by Aboriginals, who use education and job-related experience as their own measure of worth to the employer. They have accepted the notion of education as a means to a better livelihood. Many now have educational credentials and expect the status and job opportunities that accompany university degrees and other types of certification. Are Aboriginal employees reaping the benefits in this investment in themselves?

The data in the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports show that Aboriginal employees are distributed throughout the EEW. However, there are concentrations of Aboriginal employees in certain occupations. For example, men are concentrated in the semi skilled manual worker and clerical categories: women are concentrated in clerical and middle and other managers categories.

A larger number of Aboriginal men than women are in the highest occupational level. Aboriginal representation has also increased in the professionals category. This indicates a return in human capital as Aboriginals are increasing their educational achievement levels and work-related experience. I assume that human capital is paying off for Aboriginals, because are moving into higher-status jobs with higher pay. However, due to the nature of these data, there is no way to determine the education and job-related experience of those Aboriginal people in the highest occupational levels.

Case study data show that each organization incorporates elements of human capital theory in its selection of Aboriginal employees. Policies specify the need for "qualifications" as a means of entry into the organization. In fact, meritocracy takes on varying levels of importance, but it is always present. No organization hires Aboriginals simply to fulfill their employment equity obligations. Aboriginals are held to the same standards as non-Aboriginals. The fact that some Aboriginals are under employed in these organizations suggests that Aboriginal recruits are held to a higher standard than non-Aboriginals.

The individual experiences described in Chapter 7 state that human capital elements are present. Respondents state that they, in most cases, have higher or the same educational level and work experience as their co-workers. Again, this suggests under employment. As mentioned above, Aboriginal employees are measured for their human capital by their employers. However, these employees are also measuring themselves by their human capital, and those with the most human capital have greater expectations of their employers. They are the most dissatisfied if they are employed in positions that do not use their skills and training. These are the employees who will probably leave the company if they are not promoted to a position commensurate with their education and skill.

8.2.2 Labour Market Segmentation Theory

The second perspective dealing with Aboriginal employment in this study is the labour market segmentation theory. This theory suggests that the labour market is divided along a variety of categories including age, race, gender, and class. A variant of the labour market segmentation theory, the dual labour market theory, suggests that the workplace is divided into primary markets (secure, well-paying, and career-oriented) and secondary markets (unstable, low-paying, and with little opportunity for advancement).

Segmented labour market theory accurately addresses the situation of Aboriginal people, who do find themselves concentrated in certain positions, usually low- paying and low-status positions, in the workplace. Data from the Employment Equity Annual Reports and the case studies show occupational enclaves of Aboriginal employees in low-paying and low-status jobs. This situation is supported by the individual employees' experiences shown in Chapter 7 as many of the respondents were hired into certain positions (clerical and heavy equipment operators) and were promoted past a certain point or not promoted at all.

The dual labour market theory suggests that the workplace is divided into primary markets (secure, well-paying, and career-oriented) and secondary markets (unstable, low-paying, and with little opportunity for advancement). Data from the Employment Equity Act Annual Reports state that the highest number of job losses in the federally regulated companies has occurred in the lower echelons of the workforce. This suggests that those in lower-status positions are the most expendable and have the least power to resist job termination. This phenomenon was also present in the case study organizations where most job losses occurred in the lower occupational levels. In addition, Aboriginal employees incurred greater job losses than their representation in the workforce, which indicates that Aboriginal employees are part of the secondary labour market.

Internal labour markets where only those people already employed by the company are awarded positions can also be detrimental to Aboriginal people, because if they are not able to gain entry, they are automatically out of the competition. The companies involved in the case study analyses are all "core" members which means they can provide stable jobs for employees and, because of their hierarchical structure, they can also promote individuals from within the company. Each organization has undergone downsizing and is perhaps in the position to increase its workforce.

8.2.3 Organizational Perspectives

Organizational perspectives showed that workplace barriers could be either intentional or unintentional. I explored the concepts of the glass ceiling, tokenism, and workplace discrimination to show the creation of obstacles that inhibit the free flow of qualified individuals into the more advantaged labour markets.

The concept of the glass ceiling was described by the Aboriginal employees I interviewed, who explained how they had applied for promotion and had been unsuccessful. People felt that they had been unsuccessful at promotion because of office politics. Some stated that there was an "unofficial" rule that Aboriginal managers only supervised members of their own ethnic group.. Employees were frustrated because they believed they had progressed as far as they could within their organization. In addition, in none of the case study organizations were Aboriginal employees in decision-making positions, but in middle management with limited autonomy and authority. For example, the glass ceiling was in place when Aboriginal workers who had years of experience working in the construction phase were not transferred from Bechtel to Syncrude when the operations phase began. Syncrude had committed itself to training Aboriginal workers, but when the construction phase was completed, hundreds of Aboriginal workers were simply let go. This can be viewed as an example of a dual labour market. Some people are hired as permanent employees into stable positions, while others are placed in peripheral jobs that are temporary and less stable.

The experiences mentioned by respondents above support the tokenism typology as described by Kanter (1978) who defined a token as a member of a subgroup that comprised less than 15% of the whole group. She stated that tokens experienced three common occurrences in their workplace. First, they received heightened attention or visibility that exacerbated pressure to do well. Second, they felt isolated from informal social and professional networks. Third, they reported a variety of incidents showing they were "encapsulated" in a stereotyped role. *Encapsulated* means they felt stuck in a role from which could not emerge although many were in positions below their educational and skill levels.

Respondents stated that they felt they were "the centre of attention" at work and mentioned pressure to do well and always be *on.* This meant that they had to be conscious of themselves always because they did not know who might be watching. They said, "someone was always watching." They felt they were placed under a microscope by their supervisors and co-workers. Many feel they must prove themselves to others as reliable, competent and trained workers which they resented. Many noted when they began with the organizations that co-workers (non-Aboriginal) seemed nervous and unnatural around them. "It was like they had to watch their P's and Q's around me. That was uncomfortable. Luckily that did not last too long" (Personal interview employee #37).

Marginalization from co-workers caused some employees to seek out the companionship of other Aboriginal workers (if there were any). Most respondents said they were the only Aboriginal person working in their department, which led to social and physical isolation for some Aboriginal employees, who withdrew and failed to integrate fully into the workplace. One respondent said, "I only have to work there. They get 7.5 hours of my time each day. After work I have my own friends" (Personal interview #1). However, some took the opposite approach by actively involving themselves in activities at work. They tried to make friends and overlook the chilliness and rebuffs of some co-workers. Many, but not all, of these employees reported job satisfaction.

As mentioned above, some Aboriginal employees felt that they were stuck in a certain role at work. They had been turned down for promotion and did not receive encouragement to advance their careers any further than middle management.

Workplace discrimination was experienced by half the employees I interviewed. The data show 67% of men and 40% of women experienced racial discrimination on the job. Some Aboriginal employees used coping strategies such as minimizing their racially discriminatory experiences, a mechanism similar to those used by women to deal with workplace sexual harassment (Hagan and Kay, 1995).

The findings of the research focused on the Aboriginal employees and how the Employment Equity Act affected them in their everyday working life. Had the program made their experiences better or worse? Findings indicate that the Act has had limited impact on them. The Act increased their representation in federally regulated companies, but not to the point where their representation reached parity with their representation in Canadian society, which is the goal. The Employment Equity Program has been largely ineffective in attaining the full range of goals set out by the program.

Educational attainment appears to have varying effects on the type of employment an Aboriginal person is able to obtain. In the case study organizations, approximately half of the Aboriginal employees could be called under employed, where their employment positions were inferior to their qualifications. A majority stated that they had more or the same job-related experience and education as other non-Aboriginal co-workers.

Aboriginal employees suffer from workplace discrimination that supersedes their human capital. Job-related experience and educational attainment do not ensure jobs equal to their experience and ability. Discriminatory views penetrate the workplace and have a negative effect on the Aboriginal employee. The Employment Equity Act gives Aboriginal employees access to the company but does not ensure them jobs commensurate with their educational attainment or job-related experience, advancement, or a receptive workplace environment.

8.3 Recommendations

The findings reported here suggest many directions for future research and policy changes. I begin with recommendations I would make to policy governing the Employment Equity Act and its programs: Legislated Employment Equity Program (LEEP) and the Federal Contractor's Program (FCP). The program must be more forceful in ensuring that employees commit to their obligations.

8.3.1 Policy Recommendations

8.3.1.1 Reporting Procedures

I recommend that changes be made to the reporting system for the LEEP to include human capital information about each of the occupational categories. As it now stands, the information provided on the reporting sheets is merely numerical aggregates.

I would also suggest that the designated groups be reported as mutually exclusive groups. Presently, an individual can occupy up to three designated groups at one time. This is deceptive because one is unable to determine whether a company has hired three people or one woman with a disability and visible minority status.

I suggest that the government target a specific occupation for more in-depth reporting. The target group could rotate every year. This system would also give the opportunity for periodic occupational changes for time. For example, the data could show if qualifications for a particular occupation have increased or decreased over time.

The average seniority of individuals in each of the occupational categories would determine whether some occupation levels are more stable than others. For example, are the higher-level occupations incurring as many changes to their ranks as the lower-level occupations?

8.3.1.2 Policy Enforcement

In addition, the Employment Equity Act seems lax in its policy enforcement, which should be strengthened with stronger sanctions for noncompliance. Compliance would have to be policed more actively than it is now. This might include on-site audits for the LEEP similar to those currently implemented with the FCP. At present, the LEEP simply requires the company to send in a completed report by June 30. Those who do not comply are simply listed in the annual report.

A stronger policy that spells out specific and substantial sanctions for non-compliance might force those who companies that are seemingly uncommitted to the program to increase their efforts.

8.3.1.3 Resource Allotment

Commitment should be given by the companies to place resources, both human and monetary, into the success of this policy. The program's limited success might be attributable to the organization's unwillingness to commit adequate resources.

Evidence of scant resource allotment recurred in all the case study organizations, which resulted in detrimental effects. None of the case study organizations dedicated a sufficient amount of resources to ensure the program's success. In one case, the Aboriginal Affairs office did not even have a telephone, and in another organization, records for Aboriginal employment were neglected for years even though an signed agreement with government obliged them to keep such records.

Many organizations have placed their employment/Aboriginal equity programs in jeopardy, some deliberately and some through neglect. However, these companies continue to enjoy the benefits of program involvement , which include media attention, respect from other organizations, and monetary gains from government contracts.

8.3.1.2 Special Measures for Under represented Groups

The fact that Aboriginals and disabled people are Under represented in the EEW indicates that more must be done by federally regulated companies to increase their representation. I would like to see recruitment policies aimed specifically at Under represented groups, namely Aboriginals and the disabled. These policies must be monitored and sanctions placed on companies who do not comply with regulations. Program proposals should be submitted to and approved by the federal agency responsible for the Employment Equity Program. Although companies appear to be incorporating more Aboriginals and disabled people in the workforce, this incorporation has been minimal.

8.3.2 Future Research Recommendations

8.3.2.1 Employer Assessments

I would propose further research for a comprehensive, analysis of change over time for Employment Equity grades given to the employers by the government. This research would determine which companies are consistently good or poor in their equity efforts toward members of the designated groups.

This research would allow would-be employees to investigate the companies to whom they are applying for employment. The prospective employee could determine whether a company has a better record for certain groups covered under the employment equity legislation. The person could also see if the company's efforts towards his or her designated group is on a par, above or, below efforts made toward other designated groups.

8.3.2.2 Longitudinal Cohort Study

A longitudinal cohort study of all Aboriginal employees working with selected companies would be a worthwhile research project. This study would track these individuals periodically to determine whether they have advanced in the company. The research would also explore their workplace experience. Perhaps the same questionnaire used for the employee profiles could be used to survey the Aboriginal employees.

This research would determine whether the Aboriginal employee had gained access to the company's internal labour market. It would also determine whether the employees had experienced barriers to their advancement in the company and ascertain the employees' perspectives on aspects of human capital theory or tokenism.

8.3.2.3 Follow-up Employee Survey

A follow-up study with the participants included in the employee profile. Whether an employee was still with the same organization would be interesting to investigate. Although many of the same questions could be asked, some additional ones could be included. The study could be conducted in three to five years to determine whether the Aboriginal employees' workplace situation has changed. Has the Aboriginal employees' workplace experiences improved or deteriorated since this study was conducted. If so, how.

The above mentioned recommendations would help the present reporting system which limits the type of analysis performed with these data. Recommendations for future resource will enhance the scarce literature in the area of Aboriginal employment as well as assess the effectiveness of the Employment Equity Act. Continued research is needed in both of these areas.

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APPENDIX A

Aboriginal Employee Interview Schedule - August 1996

Preamble *[Read to Interviewee prior to start]*

You have be contacted to participate in this study because you are an Aboriginal employee working (or who worked) with one of the four companies who has agreed to participate in a study I am conducting. I am Cora Voyageur, a doctoral student in Sociology at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. I can be reached at 462-2123. I am supervised by Dr. Graham Lowe who can be reached at 492-0487 if you have any concerns or complaints about my conduct or this research.

I am collecting data on the Employment Equity Act and Aboriginal people in Canada. This study evaluates to what extent Aboriginal people have benefitted from the Employment Equity Program and determines whether the legislation's objective of improving employment prospects of this historically disadvantaged group has been met.

Your employer is interested in determining whether present employment equity policies are effective and functional. Your candor and involvement with this project may help change company policy with regards to Aboriginal employees.

This interview will take about 30 minutes to complete. The interview consists of questions asked in eight areas. Your participation is voluntary. If there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, please feel free to point them out to me and we will go on to the next question. You have the option of ending this interview at any time.

All information you provide will be regarded as confidential. Names, job titles or any other identifying information will be used for research purposes only and will be seen only by me. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the research and the limited number of Aboriginal employees in certain departments, I cannot guarantee complete anonymity to the participants. This may involve some risk to you as an employee since your employer or your co-workers may surmise your involvement in this study which could result in strained relationships at work. If this is of concern, you have the option to decline the interview without risk or penalty. I will do my utmost to ensure confidentiality and ensure the highest degree of anonymity I am able. Employers or co-workers will not be advised of interviewees, their responses or see a transcript of this interview.

I will collect information on an individual basis but all data analysis and publication will be in aggregate form to preserve the limited anonymity of participants. Portions or quotations from this interview may appear in my final report but all individual references will be removed. I intend to use this information in scholarly publications and lectures. I will provide you a copy of the final report upon completion.

I have now informed you of the intent, risks and obligations of this research. If you agree to continue, can we set an interview time?

1. **Telephone Interview** Agree ________ Decline ________
   Interview Time __________________ **Interview Date** _______________

2. **Face to Face Interview** Signature ____________________ Date __________
   Interview Time __________________ **Interview Date** _______________

Demographic Information

Today's Date *[will not be asked but info collected]*

What is your name?

Gender *[will not be asked but info collected]*

Are you living with a partner?

Do you have dependent children living with you?

Do you have other dependent family members living with you?

What is your level of education?

Employment History

Which company do/did you work with? *[If still employed with company]*

How long have you been with this company?

What is your current position?

When did you start your current job?

Is this the same job you had when you started with the company?

If not, what was your first job with this company?

Did you have any job-related experience prior to starting with this company?

What is your employment status?

How many hours a week do you work?

Compared to others who do the same job do you have the more, less or the same education.

Compared to others who do the same job do you have the more, less or the same experience.

Do you require specialized training to do your job?

Please describe your duties?

[If no longer employed with company] How long were you with the company?

When did you leave the company?

What was your last position?

When did you start your last position?

Is this the same job you had when you started with the company?

If not, what was your first job with the company?

Did you have any job-related experience prior to starting with the company?

What was your employment status?

How many hours a week did you work?

Did you require specialized training to did your job?

Please describe your duties?

Does your job take advantage of your skills and training? Explain.

Why did you leave the company?

Job Satisfaction

How satisfied are you with your current job? *[Probe - record verbatim]*

How satisfied are you with your employer? *[Probe - record verbatim]*

What do you like most about your job?

What do you dislike most about your job?

If you could change one thing about your job, what would it be? *[Record verbatim]*

Career Development

What are your career goals

Do you think your career goals can be met in this company? Explain.

How does your company encourage your career development?

Have you ever received or had the opportunity to receive additional training since you started with this company?

Have you ever attended or had the opportunity to attend: workshops since you started?
conferences
seminars

Have you been involved in project work since you started with this company?

Have you received a promotion since you started with this company?

Have you received increased responsibilities since you started with this company?

If yes, please describe.

Have you received increased access to information since you started with this company?

Organizational Context

Could you describe your company's management strategy?

Have there been any changes in: management strategies that have affected you personally?
corporate organization
technology
staffing levels

Employment Equity Policy

Has your employer ever explained its Employment Equity Policy (EEP) to you?

If no, are you aware of your company's EEP anyway?

How has your company's EEP directly affected you during your time here?

Would you say you have benefitted from your company's EEP?

Describe any benefits you have received as a result of your company's EEP?

Do you agree with the idea of Employment Equity for Aboriginal people?

If yes, why.

If no, why.

How do you think your company could change its EEP to better assist Aboriginal people?

Social Environment

Do you have many friends at work?

Do you socialize with people from work after hours?

What types of activities do you do with them after hours?

Do you take part in any company organized activities? *[Suggest - retirement parties, company barbeques, wine and cheese socials, sports teams, golf tournaments, etc]*

Experiences as an Aboriginal Employee

How many people work in your department or area?

How many Aboriginal people work in your department or area?

Where else are Aboriginal people found in your company?

Are there certain areas where Aboriginal people work in your company?

If yes, what are these areas?

Why do you think Aboriginal employees are concentrated in these areas?

Has your Aboriginal status ever helped or hindered you while at this company?

If helped, please describe. *[Probe]*

If hindered, please describe. *[Probe]*

Have you ever experienced discrimination because of your Aboriginal ethnicity in your workplace?

If yes, please describe the incident.

How did you respond to the incident *[Probe]*

Do feel the issue was resolved to your satisfaction?

Have you ever experienced discrimination for any other reason in your workplace? *[Suggest - age, gender, disability]*

If yes, please describe the incident.

How did you respond to the incident *[Probe]*

Do feel the issue was resolved to your satisfaction?

All of the questions have now been answered. Thank you for your participation. Do you have any further comments or concerns that you would like to raise at this time?

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

UPPER LEVEL MANAGERS

Those people holding the most senior positions in large firms or corporations. They are responsible for the corporations's policy and strategic planning, and for directing and controlling the functions of the organization. Includes: chief executive officer, president, vice-president, chief operating officer, general managers and divisional heads, and directors who have several middle manager reporting to them or are responsible for the direction of a critical technical function.

MIDDLE MANAGERS

Middle managers receive instructions from upper level managers and administer the organization's policy and operations through subordinate managers or supervisors. Upper level managers and middle managers together comprise all managers. Includes: financial, personnel, sales advertising, purchasing, production, data processing, marketing, and research and development managers.

PROFESSIONALS

These occupations usually require either university graduation or prolonged formal training and often require membership within a professional organization. Includes: engineers (civil, mechanical, chemical, electrical, petroleum, nuclear, aerospace, etc.); architects; lawyers; airline pilots and navigators; social workers, biologists; geologists, chemist; economists, psychologists; librarians; accountants and kindred workers.

TECHNICIANS AND SEMI-PROFESSIONALS

These occupations usually require knowledge equivalent to about two years of post high school education, such as is offered in many technical institutions and community colleges, and often have further specialized on-the-job training. Technicians possess highly developed manual technical skills. Includes: computer programmer, and systems analysts; nurses; physio and occupational therapists, draftsmen and draftswomen; musicians; actors; photographers; illustrating artists; product designers; radio and television announcers; translators and interpreters; writers and editors; specialized inspectors and testers or electronic, electrical, mechanical, etc. products; vocational instructors; technicians (medical. electronic, engineering, architectural, dental, physical science, life science, library, etc.); and kindred workers.

SUPERVISORS

Non-management first-line supervisors of white-collar (clerical, sales, and service) workers. Supervisors may, but not usually, perform any of the duties of the employees under their supervision. Includes: supervisors of stenographers; typists, account recorders; office machine and electronic data processing operators; library clerks; mail carriers and messengers; salespeople; food and beverage preparers, bookkeepers; receptionists; sales workers; and kindred workers.

FOREMEN/WOMEN

Non-management first-line supervisors of blue-collar jobs. They may, but not usually, perform any of the duties of the employees under their supervision. Includes: supervisors of machining; construction; heavy equipment operation; mechanical repairers; processing workers (food and beverage, textiles, wood, metals); workers in assembling and repairing; workers in air, railway and water transportation; printers; excavators and pavers; and kindred workers.

CLERICAL

Includes all clerical work, regardless of difficulty, in which the activities are predominantly non-manual. **Includes:** bookkeepers; collectors (bills and [illegible] [illegible]gers and office helpers; office machine operators; mail clerks; typists; telephone operators; electronic data processing equipment operators; clerks (production, shipping and receiving, stock, scheduling, ticket, freight, library, reception, travel, hotel, personnel, statistical, general office); and kindred workers.

SALES

Occupations engaged wholly or primarily in selling. Includes: advertising agents; real estate agents; sales workers and sales clerks; stock brokers; insurance agents; travel agents; salespeople of technical and business services; and kindred workers.

SERVICE

Workers who provide personal service. Includes: attendants (hospital and other institutions, including nurse's aides and orderlies); barbers; bartenders; guides; food and beverage serving occupations; travel attendants; housekeepers; child care occupations; and kindred workers.

SKILLED CRAFTS AND TRADESMEN/WOMEN

Manual workers of a high skill level, having thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the processes involved in their work. They are frequently journeymen and journeywomen who have an extensive period of training. Includes: welders; tool and die makers; sheet metal workers; carpenters; plumbers; mechanics and repairers; engravers; stationary engineers; aircraft and railway transport equipment mechanics and repairers; radio and television broadcasting equipment operators; radio and television service repairers; tailors and dressmakers; firemen; and kindred workers.

SEMI-SKILLED MANUAL WORKERS

Manual workers who perform duties that usually require a few months of specific vocational on-the-job training and a formal educations which is less that high school completion. Generally these workers whose skill level is less than that of skilled crafts and trades workers; but greater than that of unskilled manual workers. Includes: truck and tractor drivers; bus drivers, paving, surfacing and related occupations; roofers, photographic processors; sound and video recording equipment operators; those in apprenticeship training; textile workers; and kindred workers.

UNSKILLED MANUAL WORKERS

Workers in blue-collar jobs which generally require only a few days or no on-the-job training. The duties are manual, elementary, and require little or not independent judgement. Includes: garage labourers; car washers and greasers; swampers; gardeners (except farm); unskilled railway track workers; labourers performing lifting, digging, mixing, loading, and pulling operations; and kindred workers.

SOURCE: Abella, Rosalie. (1984) *Equality in Employment: A Royal Commission Report.* Pp. 342&343.

APPENDIX C

Employer Interview Schedule
August 1996

Preamble [Read to Interviewee prior to start]

I am Cora Voyageur, a doctoral student in the Sociology Department at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. I am researching the Employment Equity Act and Aboriginal people in Canada.

I have contacted you to participate in this study because you are employed by one of the four companies who has agreed to participate in a 4-way case study analysis I am conducting into Aboriginal/Employment Equity Programmes. I am interviewing people who are involved with their company's Aboriginal/Employment Equity Program and those who occupy positions of responsibility for Aboriginal employment policies and practices.

My study evaluates to what extent Aboriginal people have benefitted from the Employment Equity Program and determines whether the legislation's objective of improving the employment prospects of this historically disadvantaged groups has been met.

This interview will take about 40 minutes to complete. The interview consists of questions asked in organizational, management and employment areas.

If there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, please feel free to point them out to me and we will go on to the next question. You have the option of ending this interview anytime. Portions and quotations from this interview may appear in my final report but I will remove any personal references to you.

Through access to company publications and annual reports and interviews with management and employees I hope to offer you a comprehensive review of your

Aboriginal Employment Program which I will provide to you at the conclusion of my research project. Can we continue?

Company Policy/Experience
Following are a list of questions I would like you (or your company) to answer regarding your Employment Equity/Aboriginal Employment policy.

1. What is your company structure?

2. Does you company have a written agreement with federal government regarding Employment Equity?

3. Was your program voluntarily undertaken or government legislated?

4. Who is responsible for your Employment Equity Program?

5. What are your company's Employment Equity goals?

6. Are these goals set to a time line?

7. Does your company take any of the following special measures towards current or perspective Aboriginal employees?

   Recruitment:
   Training:
   Retention:
   Orientation:
   Native Business Development Program:

   If so, please explain the measures taken and how they have been fulfilled.

8. What are the successes with your program implementation

9. What are some of the problems you encountered with program implementation?

10. Is your company subject to a public monitoring mechanism?

11. If so, what is it?

12. Is your company subject to a public enforcement mechanism?

13. If so, what is it?

14. Is your company subject to an internal monitoring mechanism?

15. If so, what is it?

16. Is your company subject to an internal enforcement mechanism?

17. If so, what is it?

18. Are there penalties for non-compliance?

19. If so, what are they?

20. How do you know if your Aboriginal Program is successful?

21. Can you describe what you look for in your employees?

22. Does your expectations differ for Aboriginal employees.

23. What is the biggest asset to having Aboriginal employees in your company.

24. Do you have any problems with your Aboriginal employees?

25. Can you explain what those problems are?

26. What is your current turnover rate for your general workforce?

27. What is your current turnover rate for Aboriginal employees?

28. Have these rates increased, decreased or remained consistent over the past 3 years.

29. What has your experience been with obtaining qualified native people for your company.

30. Does your organization have the capacity to absorb and support trainees

31. Was your company affected by corporate downsizing? How was it affected?

32. Is your company involved with employees' unions?

Aboriginal Employment Data

1. What is your total number of employees?

2. What is your total number of Aboriginal employees?

3. How many your Aboriginal employees are:

   Full Time
   Part Time
   Seasonal
   Temporary
   Contract

4. How many Aboriginal employees do you presently have in each of the following job classifications?

   Upper Level Management
   Middle Or Other Management
   Professionals
   Semi-professionals and Technicians
   Supervisors
   Foremen/women
   Clerical Workers
   Sales Workers
   Service Workers
   Skilled Craft and Trades Workers
   Semi-skilled Manual Workers
   Other Manual Workers

5. How many Aboriginal employees were hired within the last year?

6. What job position were they hired for?

7. How many of your Aboriginal employees have been promoted in the last year?

8. How many of your Aboriginal employees have been terminated in the last year?

9. What was the reasons for their terminations?

APPENDIX D

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY FEDERAL CONTRACTORS PROGRAM

email address: equity.report@atreid.net

APPENDIX E

THIS AGREEMENT made the 3rd day of July, A.D. 1976.

BETWEEN:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA,
as represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
(hereinafter called "the Department"),

OF THE FIRST PART,

- and -

SYNCRUDE CANADA LTD., a body corporate having
its head office in the City of Edmonton, in the Province
of Alberta,
(hereinafter called "Syncrude),

OF THE SECOND PART,

THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA, a Society having
its head office in the City of Edmonton, in the Province of Alberta
(hereinafter call "the Association"),

OF THE THIRD PART.

WHEREAS Syncrude is presently constructing a plant near Fort McMurray, Alberta for the extraction of synthetic crude oil from the bituminous tar sands and Syncrude anticipates that the said plant will commence operation in 1978; and

WHEREAS the Department supports the terms and conditions contained in this Agreement respecting employment of Indians and the maximization of opportunity of Indian Business; and

WHEREAS Syncrude desires a stable work force for the operation of its plant and sound local business in northeastern Alberta and believes that both these objectives can be furthered by employing Indians and by encouraging the development of Indian Business in such ______________________________ NOTE: All emphasis mine area; and

WHEREAS the Association desires to participate in this Agreement for the benefit of the Association and its members, the Indians of Alberta; and

WHEREAS the Department wishes to provide the financial assistance set out in Attachment "A" to this Agreement without impairing its existing or proposed funding of any of the Department's other programs in Alberta.

NOW THEREFORE THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH:

ARTICLE 1

1.1 "Corporation" - means the corporation established in accordance with Attachment "A" to this agreement.

1.2 "Development Phase" - means the period commencing on the Effective date and terminating on the commencement of the Operating Phase.

1.3 "Effective Date: - means the 3rd day of July, A.D. 1976.

1.4 "Indian" - means an Indian, as defined in the Indian Act. R.S.C. 1970, Chapter 1-6, as amended, who is a resident of the Province of Alberta.

1.5 “Indian Business” - means a business organization which Fifty Per Cent (50%) or more beneficially owned by Indians or Indian Bands.

1.6 “Indian Band” - means a Band, as defined in the Indian Act, R.S.C. 1970, Chapter 1-6, as amended, all of who’s members are resident in the Province of Alberta.

1.7 “Institution” - means any of Keyano College in Fort McMurray, Alberta, the Lac La Biche campus of the Alberta Vocation College, the Grouard College Campus of the Alberta Vocational College, Grouard, Alberta, and if the student chooses, the Southern and Northern Institution chosen by Indian people for vocational or secondary education in the Province of Alberta.

1.8 “Manpower” - means the Department of Manpower and Immigration Government of Canada

1.9 “Minister” - means the Minister of Indian Affairs & Northern Development, Government of Canada, unless the context otherwise requires.

1.10 “Operating Phase” - means the period commencing on the date on which Syncrude commences start-up operations at the plant.

1.11 “Plant” - means the facility operated by Syncrude at or near Mildred Lake, Alberta, for the purposes of mining, extracting, and upgrading of bitumen to produce synthetic crude oil.

ARTICLE 2

2.1 Consistent with good management practices, Syncrude shall, during the Development Phase and the Operating Phase, recruit and offer employment to Indians who hold the necessary educational and technical qualifications and meet Syncrude's normal standards of employment for available:

(a) managerial, technical, and professional positions in Syncrudes Operations wherever carried on;

(b) fully skilled operating, maintenance, and technical positions;

(c) trainee positions involving on-the-job training leading to permanent employee status (hereinafter referred to as "Trainee Positions").

2.2 Syncrude shall, consistent with good management practices, during the Development phase and Operating phase, recruit for future Trainee Positions, Indians who meet Syncrudes normal standards of employment but do not hold the necessary educational and technical qualifications. Such Indians shall be required, as a condition of any offer of employment, to successfully complete a course of training specified by Syncrude in a letter of "intent to hire" issued by Syncrude to such Indians. Indians selected for educational upgrading pursuant to this Article shall have a minimum educational qualification of Grade Seven standing, or its equivalent in the view of the Institution.

2.3 Syncrude shall undertake one pilot training program for that number of Indians which Syncrude in its opinion, can reasonably train, who have extensive work experience in areas needed by Syncrude and who meet Syncrude's normal standards of employment, except that they do not hold the educational qualifications required for offers of employment pursuant to Article 2.1. This special training shall include educational upgrading as needed for the job, as well as technical training necessary to meet job progression standards. Selected hires can enter this pilot program only during the year following the Effective Date of this Agreement. The cost of such training program shall be shared by The Department and/or Manpower and Syncrude. If, on completion of the pilot training program, Syncrude is of the opinion that the pilot training program has been successful in producing skilled technical employees capable of meeting Syncrude's job progression standards, Syncrude may consider the continuation of the pilot training program.

2.4 Syncrude shall require the same performance from and provide the same benefits and privileges to Indian employees as required of and afforded to non-Indian employees which include the following: housing assistance, relocation costs, and transportation.

2.5 Syncrude will acquaint its subcontractors with its Indian hiring program.

2.6 Syncrude will review the job performance of each Indian employee and inform him of his strengths and weaknesses in his job function. All reasonable measures will be taken to assist the employee in his career progression.

2.7 Syncrude shall investigate the complaints of discrimination toward the Indian employees and shall take appropriate action consistent with good management practices.

2.8 Syncrude's normal on-the-job training will provide Indian employees with the opportunity for technical upgrading to enable such employees to qualify for positions up to and including fully-trained level of the job category in which they are employed.

ARTICLE 3

3.1 The Association, the Department, and Syncrude shall use, and the Department shall request Manpower (including through the Native Outreach Program) to use every opportunity to directly publicize the employment opportunities with Syncrude pursuant to this Agreement to Indians throughout Alberta Manpower (including through the Native Outreach Program) and Syncrude shall use all reasonable efforts to recruit candidates acceptable to Syncrude for positions with Syncrude by direct contact with Indian people and through the existing Indian Band administrations and Indian Band councils. Manpower's involvement shall be through its existing programs and shall be conducted in accordance with regulations and policies current at the time of such a project or projects.

ARTICLE 4

4.1 Training of those Indians to whom a letter of "intent to hire" has been given by Syncrude pursuant to Article 2.2 shall be paid for by the Department and Manpower and conducted by institutions.

4.2 Such training shall be conducted in accordance with the following:

(a) all such Institutions shall design programs satisfactory to Manpower and which will meet the employment requirements of Syncrude while recognizing and providing for the special cultural and social identity of the Indian students in pre-employment and employment training at such Institutions;

(b) training costs and living allowances of the Indian students shall be borne by Manpower for the period commencing on the starting date of training for any such student and ending on the first anniversary of such date or at such time as the student leaves the program, whichever is the earlier date. The Department shall bear any costs in respect of longer attendance by any Indian students and in respect to students or programs which for any reason Manpower cannot undertake when the required training is to take place;

(c) Manpower's normal program criteria shall apply in the selection and sponsorship of candidates to be supported by Manpower; and such support shall be subject to the terms and conditions of the Adult Occupational Training Agreement, Canada-Alberta Industrial Training Plan Agreement or the successors thereto which are in effect at the time the required training is to take place;

(d) The Department and the Association shall evaluate and assess the individual and collective level of success of Indian students in training pursuant to this Agreement, and if:

I. the dropout rate of Indian students in any Institution exceeds Twenty-FivePercent (25%) (a dropout shall not include a person who leaves the training program to enter another training program or accepts employment with another employer other than Syncrude during the course of his training),

ii. in the opinion of the Association and the Department, the training programs are failing to meet the objectives stated in Paragraph 4.2

(a) hereof then

A. The Association and the Department shall work with and assist Indian students to make necessary adjustments to remain in the training program or change to another training program at another Institution, or

B. The Department, upon the request of the Association, shall immediately provide funds for alternative training programs to replace programs which have failed such that trained and capable Indian employees may be available when required for employment by Syncrude.

ARTICLE 5

5.1 Syncrude shall provide counselling services, including information and guidance, to Indian employees and Indians holding letters of "intent to hire" and to their spouses and children in respect of living conditions, life skills and social and cultural adjustments and such Indians' training, job orientation, and working conditions.

5.2 The Department shall provide life skills, social and cultural adjustment training for students holding letters of "intent to hire". The Department and Manpower shall pay the cost for such training of those students they sponsor.

5.3 Syncrude shall require all supervisory and managerial personnel, to attend orientation classes provided by Syncrude, for the purpose of familiarizing such persons with the cultural and social identity of Indians.

ARTICLE 6

6.1 The parties shall meet on a quarterly basis during the term hereof, to discuss adequacies and deficiencies in the implementation of this Agreement and the possibilities for improvement of such implementation. Each of the parties shall report at such meetings as to its compliance with its obligations under this Agreement, which report shall include information as to its programs and activities for the past quarter relating to:

(a) publicizing of employment opportunities with Syncrude for Indians;

(b) recruitment by Syncrude of Indian employees;

(c) educational upgrading of Indians;

(d) progressions of Indian employees;

(e) life skills training and family adjustment of Indians;

(f) on-the-job training of Indian employees;

(g) terminations of employment of Indians; and

(h) awards of contracts to Indian Business.

Syncrude shall include in its report, a forecast of its labour requirements for the next ensuing quarter.

6.2 At such meetings any of the parties may discuss, review, enquire into, comment upon, and make recommendations to other parties concerning matters outlined in Article 6.1 (a) to (h) inclusive, and suggest improvements to the other parties.

6.3 Any such recommendations and/or improvements shall be seriously considered by the other parties and provided some are reasonable within the terms of this Agreement and consistent with good management practice, shall be implemented insofar as is reasonably possible.

6.4 The parties may from time to time during the term of this Agreement consult with respect to matters of mutual interest regarding the provisions of this Agreement.

ARTICLE 7

7.1 Syncrude shall provide to the Corporation information respecting Syncrude's long-term needs for suppliers of goods and services.

ARTICLE 8

8.1 Syncrude shall advise the Corporation of all calls or requests for tender which it proposes for contracts to supply goods and services to Syncrude which Syncrude reasonably believes that an Indian Business can perform.

8.2 If the Corporation believes than an Indian Business can perform a contract to supply goods or services to Syncrude, the Corporation shall either:

(a) make existing Indian Businesses aware of such contract and encourage and assist them to tender or bid for same; or

(b) encourage and assist the development of an Indian Business to tender or bid for such contract.

8.3 Syncrude shall evaluate the tender or bid of any Indian Business for any contract to supply goods or services to Syncrude on the same basis as any other tenders or bids received by it. Syncrude shall not discriminate against Indian Businesses in the awarding of contracts.

ARTICLE 9

9.1 Nothing in this Agreement shall be interpreted as limiting the right of Syncrude to carry on its business in accordance with good management practices and all applicable laws.

ARTICLE 10

10.1 The parties shall do all such further acts and things as shall be reasonably necessary to carry out the terms and provisions of this Agreement. The parties agree that this Agreement fulfils the commitment of each of the parties with respect to the matters covered by this Agreement.

10.2 The Association has been represented as acting for and on behalf of all Indians in Alberta, which representation Syncrude has acted upon in entering into this Agreement. Accordingly, the Department and the Association agree that they shall not require Syncrude to deal with or entertain representations from nor negotiate nor conclude similar agreements with any Indians or Indian Bands.

ARTICLE 11

11.1 If any dispute arises between the parties concerning the interpretation of any provision of this Agreement, such dispute shall be referred to a single arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of the Trial Division of the Supreme Court of Alberta upon the application of any of the parties to the dispute and the decision of the Arbitrator so appointed shall be final and binding upon the parties. The arbitrator and the arbitration procedures shall be governed by the Arbitration Act, R.S.A. 1970, Chapter 21.

ARTICLE 12

12.1 All notices and communication hereunder shall be in writing and in lieu of personal service may be given or made by prepaid telegram or other form of telecommunication or by registered mail in a sealed and properly addressed envelope with postage prepaid addressed to the parties at the addresses listed below. Notices or communications so sent shall be deemed to have been received Twelve (12) hours after the sending thereof in the case of a telegram or other form of telecommunication, and Forty-eight (48) hours after the date of mailing in the case of mailing, in either case excluding Saturdays, Sundays and statutory holidays. The addresses for the parties hereto, until changed by a party hereto by notice to the other parties pursuant to this Article shall be:

(a) Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Centennial Tower
400 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0H4

Or

27th Floor, CN Tower
10004 - 104 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T5J 0K1

(b) Syncrude Canada Ltd.
9915 - 108 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
T5K 2G8

(c) Indian Association of Alberta
Room 203, Kingsway Court
11710 Kingsway Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T5G 0X5

ARTICLE 13

13.1 The terms and conditions of this Agreement shall be binding upon and shall ensure to the benefit of the parties hereto, their respective subsidiaries, successors or assigns.

13.2 This Agreement shall commence on the Effective Date and shall continue for a period of Ten (10) years thereafter, unless otherwise agreed to by all the parties.

ARTICLE 14

14.1 No member of the House of Commons may be admitted to any share or part of this Agreement or to any benefit to arise therefrom.

ARTICLE 15

15.1 The terms of this Agreement set forth and constitute the entire agreement between the parties with respect to the matters dealt with by this Agreement and no implied covenant or implied liability of any kind which is not expressly stated is created or shall arise by reason of anything contained in this Agreement.

15.2 In the event that Syncrude enters into a collective agreement with a union or joint council representative of all or any of the employees of Syncrude and that collective agreement contains terms and conditions which conflict with the terms and conditions of this Agreement, then Syncrude's obligations to perform the terms and conditions of the collective agreement shall prevail and Syncrude shall be relieved of its obligations to perform the conflicting terms and conditions of this Agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have executed this

Agreement as of the day and year first written.

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED RIGHT	)))))))	HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN OF CANADA as represented by the by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
______________________________	)))))	SYNCRUDE CANADA LTD.
______________________________	))	
______________________________	)))))	THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA
______________________________	))	
______________________________ (Witness)	))))	

THIS IS ATTACHMENT "A" TO AGREEMENT BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of Canada, THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA, and SYNCRUDE CANADA LTD.

Dated this day of A.D. 1976

ARTICLE 1.1

In order to facilitate the development of Indian enterprises and businesses serving the oil sands area, the Minister in consultation with the Association shall cause to be incorporated Indian Oil Sands Economic Development Corporation (herein called the "Corporation") at the expense of the Department.

ARTICLE 1.2

The Minister shall provide funds by way of grant to the Corporation as follows:

Three Hundred Thousand ($300,000.00) Dollars on the date the Corporation informs the Minister they are ready to receive the said funds and Three Hundred Thousand ($300,000.00) Dollars on each anniversary of such date thereafter for four consecutive years.

ARTICLE 1.3

The Minister shall consider requests for additional grants to the Corporation if he is satisfied as to the success of the Corporation and such funds are essential to further the successful work of the Corporation.

ARTICLE 1.4

The Department shall also provide, for five years, free of charge to the Corporation, the services of a senior official of the Economic Development Section of the Department as an advisor to the Corporation and/or Indian businessmen.

ARTICLE 1.5

The operations of the Corporation shall be governed by a Board of Directors composed as follows:

- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Two (2) years;
- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Three (3) years;
- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Four (4) years;
- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Five (5) years;
- One representative of the Government for a term of Four (4) years;

- One (1) representative of private business for a term of Three (3) years; and
- One (1) representative from private business for a term of Five (5) years.

The members of the Board shall be selected by a screening committee composed of Two (2) representatives of the association and Two (2) representatives of the Minister, (hereinafter called the "selection committee"). The selection committee shall seek out and select candidates who possess business competence, knowledge of the oil sands area and the economic opportunities therein, and understanding and appreciation of the unique cultural and social identity of Indians. If a director resigns or at the end of the term of each director, the selection committee shall appoint a successor all of whom shall hold office for terms of Five (5) years. And retiring director is eligible for reappointment.

ARTICLE 1.6

The objects of the Corporation shall include:

i) to identify, enumerate, evaluate, and characterize the economic development opportunities which are now available or will be available in the oil sands area whether directly as a result of Syncrude's operation or indirectly by an means;

ii) to identify, enumerate, evaluate and characterize Indian businesses and the seeking out and development of Indians to form businesses which may be enabled to participate in any of the said opportunities;

iii) the Corporation shall communicate with, assist, and encourage existing Indian businesses and assist, train, and encourage Indians to form viable businesses so that they both may meet opportunities identified by the Corporation's activities pursuant to paragraph 1.5 (I); and in so doing, the Corporation shall provide pre-feasibility assessment and analysis; proposal preparation; economic, marketing, production, employee relations, and financial advice (including use of the Indian Economic Development Fund); coordinate the provision of legal and other professional services; and provide ongoing operational monitoring and assistance.

ARTICLE 1.7

The company shall be incorporated as an Alberta non-profit Corporation. Its shares shall be held in trust for the Indians of Alberta by the Indian Association of Alberta, and voted so as to realize the aims and objectives of this agreement. This arrangement may be amended by mutual agreement between the Indian Association of Alberta and the Department.

ARTICLE 2.1

In order to further encourage and assist Indian businesses, the Minister in agreement with the Association shall cause a Foundation or a Trust to be incorporated as described in this Article (in this agreement called the "Foundation") at the expense of the Department.

ARTICLE 2.2

The Minister shall provide funds by way of grants to the Foundation as follows:

a. Five Hundred Thousand ($500,000.00) Dollars on the date the Foundation informs the Minister they are ready to receive the said funds and Five Hundred Thousand ($500,000.00) on the second anniversary date of such notification.

b. One Hundred Thousand ($100,000) Dollars on the date described in 2.2 (a) and One Hundred Thousand ($100,000.00) Dollars on each anniversary date thereafter for four consecutive years to cover administration of the Foundation.

ARTICLE 2.3

The Minister shall consider requests additional grants to the Foundation if he is satisfied as to the success of the Foundation and such funds are essential to further the successful work of the Foundation.

ARTICLE 2.4

The operations of the Foundation shall be governed by a Board of Directors composed as follows:

- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Three (3) years;
- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Four (4) years;
- One (1) Indian representative for a term of Five (5) years;
- One (1) representative from government for a term of Four (4) years;
- One (1) representative from private business for a term of Five (5) years.

The members of the board shall be selected by the selection committee and such members shall have the same qualifications as a Board Member of the Corporation is required to have. An individual may not sit on both the Board of Directors of the Corporation and of the Foundation. Upon the resignation or expiration of the term of a director, the selection committee shall appoint a successor, all of whom shall hold office for terms of Five (5) years. Any retiring director is eligible for reappointment.

ARTICLE 2.5

The objects of the Foundation shall be to provide funds byway of grant, to Indian businesses which require equity funding in order to enable them to take advantage of monies available for their operations from other sources of financing and such other objects as are ancillary thereto.

Indian businessmen who receive contracts or develop business opportunities through the assistance of the Corporation and who obtain debt financing through traditional lending agencies, shall automatically receive equity capital from the Foundation, subject to the Indian businessmen's equity needs and the conditions established by the Foundation for such grants.

ARTICLE 2.6

The Foundation shall as soon as possible be structured and shares held as required in order to qualify for and maintain the Income Taxation status for donations and in order to meet the aims and objectives of this agreement.

ARTICLE 2.7

The Minister shall do all acts and things (including carrying on negotiations with the Minister of National Revenue, bearing the cost of so designing the Foundation) for the purpose of securing the deductible status for income tax purposes of donations to the foundation at the least equivalent to the status of donations to charities or a governmental body.

ARTICLE 2.8

No amendment to the memorandum of association or articles of association or any of the incorporating documents of either the Corporation or the Foundation shall be made without the agreement of both the Association and the Minister.

ARTICLE 2.9

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will provide the Indian Association of Alberta up to Twenty Thousand ($20,000.00) Dollars per year or such other amount as is mutually agreed upon to cover its expenses associated with this agreement, including the enforcement of the agreement and also the agreement signed by Syncrude Canada Ltd., the Indian Association of Alberta, and the Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have executed this agreement.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA
as represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs & Northern
Development

THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA

Appendix F

ANDC AGREEMENT

Specific articles which relate to the obligations of Syncrude are excerpted from the 1988 Agreement below.

ARTICLE 2 - GOALS OF THE AGREEMENT

2.1 The goals of this Agreement are the following:

i) to provide a framework that will facilitate the effective, efficient and timely deployment of resources by Canada, Alberta, Syncrude and the Corporation to increase opportunities for Local Native Persons to participate in the economic benefits of oil sands development and in the development of their own communities;

ii) to encourage the growth and development of Local Native Businesses;

iii) to increase the number of Local Native Persons acquiring the necessary education and training to qualify for employment in the Local Region...

2.2 The above goals are in support of the following objective:

i) to achieve and maintain a level of direct employment of Local Native Persons in Syncrude's workforce that is representative of the proportion of Natives in the Local Region...

ARTICLE 3 - RECRUITMENT

3.3 Syncrude will work closely with local recruitment offices to identify suitable qualified Local Native Persons as applicants for specific positions. Syncrude reserves the right to interview and select trainees and employees.

ARTICLE 4 - EMPLOYMENT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

4.1 In order to accelerate movement towards Syncrude achieving the objective of a representative complement of Local Native Persons in its work force, Syncrude agrees to:

i) establish innovative programs for Native trainees to be available to Local Native Persons who meet established educational, training and employment standards for such positions under the programs;

ii) as part of the innovative programs referred to in 4.1 (1), provide a "Letter of Intent" to a Local Native Person which states that upon successful completion of the educational, training and employment requirements specified in the Letter of Intent Syncrude shall hire that person for the position for which such person originally applied and/or trained, when such a position becomes available.

iii) establish innovative programs for other employment positions, in addition to the trainee programs outlined in 4.1(1) above, and as part of the program, provide a Letter of Intent to a Local Native Person who presently has the necessary educational, training and employment requirements for specified positions stating that Syncrude shall hire that person when positions for which he is qualified become available;

iv) plan and implement on-the-job educational upgrading, technical training and apprenticeship programs based on projected workforce requirements specifically for Local Native Persons in its employ to enable them to meet Syncrude job progression standards;

v) plan and implement programs designed to support the advancement of Local Native Persons within Syncrude.

4.2 Syncrude will develop the scope and terms of the above referenced innovative employment programs on an annual basis, for review with the parties to the Agreement.

4.3 Syncrude will identify the educational qualifications for positions at Syncrude and consider adjusting educational requirements for Local Native Persons where Syncrude deems it appropriate to do so.

4.4 The parties agree to work with recognized educational institutions operating in the Local Region and Native Communities to design programs satisfactory to meet the employment requirements of Syncrude and other regional employers while recognizing and providing for the special cultural and social needs of the Native trainees. Where possible, training shall be provided by the Institutions in the Local Communities...

4.8 Syncrude shall provide cross cultural training to its supervisory and managerial personnel for the purpose of familiarizing such persons with the cultural, economic and social circumstances of Local Native Persons.

4.10 The training of Local Native Persons provided through this Agreement will not be limited to training for employment with Syncrude or with Syncrude's major contractors.

4.11 Institutional occupational training courses operated through the provisions of this Agreement are expected to prepare Local Native Persons for direct jobs with Syncrude or any of its major contractors or other regional employers...

ARTICLE 5 - EMPLOYMENT RETENTION, COUNSELLING AND SUPPORT SERVICES

5.1 Syncrude will regularly review the training and job performance of each local Native Person consistent with its programs for all employees, and inform the employee of strengths and weaknesses in the employee's job function. Where appropriate, measures may be taken by Syncrude to assist the employee in retaining employment and furthering the employee's career progression in the Company...

5.3 Syncrude will:
I) ensure that Local Native Persons employed by Syncrude are aware of all counselling and support services that are available through the corporation and in the Fort McMurray community;
ii) conduct exit interviews with all Local Native Persons leaving the employ of Syncrude.

5.4 Syncrude will review complaints of discrimination against Native employees, including systemic discrimination, within Syncrude in hiring practices or on the job, and shall take appropriate action consistent with good management practices.

5.5 Syncrude shall, except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, require the same performance from and provide the same benefits and privileges to Local Native Persons employed as required of and afforded to other employees.

5.6 Syncrude shall employ a Local Native Person to be available as a resource in support of its Native programs.

5.7 Syncrude shall use its best efforts, consistent with good management practices, to prevent and minimize the temporary or permanent lay-off of Local Native Persons employed by Syncrude.

ARTICLE 6 - LOCAL NATIVE BUSINESS

6.1 In co-operation with the Corporation, Syncrude shall design and implement programs to increase business and contracting opportunities for Local Native Businesses with Syncrude and its major contractors. ...

6.3 Syncrude shall regularly provide to the Corporation, and each of the Corporation's owners, and other Local Native Businesses, current information respecting its requirements for goods and services, and future contracting opportunities which Syncrude is able to identify as being within the capability of Local Native Businesses from the list referred to in Article 6.2 above.

6.4 Syncrude will facilitate a series of workshops in the Local Region, to ensure that Local Native Persons and businesses are aware of Syncrude's tendering processes.

6.5 Syncrude will, instances where it considers that it is feasible and practicable, provide contracts to Local Native Businesses without proceeding through the tendering process or, alternatively, give the Local Native businesses first opportunity to meeting [sic] Syncrude's specified price and service requirements prior to going to tender. This shall not prevent Syncrude, at a later date, from deciding to go to tender for subsequent contract renewals.

6.6 Syncrude will, wherever feasible and practicable, waive any bonding requirements for Local Native Businesses....

ARTICLE 7 - MAJOR CONTRACTORS OF SYNCRUDE

7.1 With input from the Corporation, Syncrude shall design and implement policies encouraging all major on-site contractors to increase their employment of Local Native Persons and to increase their sub-contracting to Local Native Businesses.

7.2 Syncrude shall inform its major on-site contractors, including in the event of a major expansion, its major prime contractors, of Syncrudes' goals and objectives to increase employment and training of Local Native Persons and to increasingly engage the services of Local Native Businesses as contained in this Agreement and shall make it a term of its agreements with such contractors that they shall use their best efforts to recruit, train and retain qualified Local Native Businesses.

7.3 In the event of a major expansion, Syncrude shall require the prime contractor to outline specific policies and program initiatives for the training and employment of Local Native Persons and engaging Local Native Businesses which shall be satisfactory to Syncrude and compatible with the goals and objectives of this Agreement.

7.4 Syncrude will regularly monitor and report on the performance of its major contractors in employing Local Native Persons and engaging Local Native Businesses....

ARTICLE 9 MONITORING

9.1 Upon execution of the Agreement, representatives of the parties shall meet on a quarterly basis or as necessary to review the implementation of this Agreement. The parties will report on the status of employment of Local Native

Persons and engagement of Local Native Businesses including information as to the parties' programs and activities for the previous quarter...

ARTICLE 11 - INTERPRETATION

11.1 Nothing in this Agreement shall be interpreted as limiting the right of Syncrude to carry on its business in accordance with all applicable laws nor to limit Syncrude in being solely responsible for managing its programs and policies consistent with good management practices.

11.2 Nothing in this Agreement shall be so construed as to affect in any way the Aboriginal, Treaty, constitutional or other rights, privileges or freedoms of the Treaty Indians or Bands affiliated with the Corporation, regardless of whether such rights, privileges and freedoms were recognized, established and defined before or after the execution of this Agreement. ...

ARTICLE 13 - DURATION

13.1 This Agreement shall commence on the Effective Date and shall continue for a period of five (5) years thereafter, unless otherwise agreed to by all parties ...

ARTICLE 14 - EVALUATION

14.1 Representatives of the parties to this Agreement shall ensure an independent review and evaluation on the performance and programs of all parties to this Agreement not later than two (2) years after the commencement of this Agreement.

14.2 Canada and Alberta shall equally share the costs of an independent review and evaluation, subject to availability of funds and agreement by all parties as to terms of reference of the evaluation. ...

APPENDIX G

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT EQUITY IMPLEMENTATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Spring, 1972	Dr. Jean Lauber examined the representation of women among University of Albert academic staff and reported the findings to the Association of Academic Staff.
Spring, 1973	The University Women's Club asked the University Senate to examine whether or not women were discriminated against at the University.
March, 1975	The Senate Task Force on the Status of women released its *Report on Academic Women* with 15 recommendations. The report concluded that discrimination against academic women on the basis of sex did exist.
1975	The Academic Women's Association was established as a formal organization under the *Societies Act*.
September, 1975	A section on "measures to prevent discrimination against women" was added to the *General Faculties Council Policy Manual.*
June, 1976	An Equal Opportunities Committee was established as a standing committee on the General Faculties Council for the purpose of investigating and bringing forward proposals for improving the status and numbers of women in all faculties.
September, 1977	The Committee for the systematic Review of the salary/Rank History of Academic Women presented its report to the Vice-President (Academic) and Deans and in response, 51 academic women received salary increases.
May, 1978	The GFC Policy Manual was amended to stipulate that the University of Alberta was committed to the principle of equal opportunity in employment and that position advertisements were to indicate that the University was an

	equal opportunity employer. Further, Deans were urged to provide information on the numbers of applications for academic positions received from males and females.
April, 1982	The Women in Scholarship, Engineering and Science Task Force (WISEST) was established by Vice-President (Research) Gordin Kaplin.
June, 1982	The Equal Opportunities Committee of the General Faculties Council was disbanded on the basis that GFC did not have a mandate to examine issues such as equal opportunities or human rights unless within an academic context. It was agreed that the Committee would be replaced by ad hoc committees appointed by the President from time to time.
July, 1982	William M. Mercer consultants submitted to the board of Governors a report with 32 recommendations on the Status of Non-Academic Women at the University of Alberta.
February, 1983	An Innovative Work Patterns Committee presented its final report to the Senate but omitted an earlier recommendation for more publicity about alternative job patterns already available to academic staff members.
November, 1984	President Horowitz established a President's Interim Advisory Committee on Women's Issues.
April 1985	The Academic Women's Association released A Ten-Year Review of The Senate Task Force on the Status of Women: Report on Academic Women. The report concluded that although some of the Senate's original recommendations had been addressed, many had yet to be dealt with.
May, 1985	In a Convocation speech, President Horowitz indicated the University's intention of proceeding with the development of a system of equal remuneration for equal work for non-academic staff.
October, 1985	Judge Rosalie Abella conducted workshops for University of Alberta administrators and others on employment equity in the university context and on the federal government's intentions in this area.

November, 1985	Vice-President (Academic) Peter Meekison established a Faculty Enhancement Program which originally made available a total of $50,000 for additional recruitment and other efforts to increase the numbers of women faculty.
December, 1985	Stevenson, Kellogg, Ernst and Whinney Management Consultants were hired to undertake a study for the development of a new classification system incorporating equal pay for work of equal value for non-academic staff.
March, 1986	The Association of Academic Staff established a Women's issues Committee as a standing committee of the Association for the purpose of developing policy recommendation on matters pertaining to women in faculty.
July, 1986	President Myer Horowitz appointed Professor Doris Badir as Special Advisor to the President on Equity Matters.
August, 1986	University of Alberta administrators were made aware for the first time of the Federal Contractors Program and its application to universities.
November, 1986	Equity Advisor Doris Badis reported to Convocation on the University's commitment to equality of opportunity for all disadvantaged groups and asked for the University community's support towards achieving that goal.
March, 1987	President Horowitz signed the Certificate of Commitment to Implement Employment Equity under the terms of The Federal Contractors Program.
May, 1987	A professional development workshop on employment equity, for academic staff and other interested individuals, was organized jointly by the Equity Advisor and University Secretariat.
June, 1987	Major amendments to Section 48 of the General Faculties Council Polity Manual were made, including the addition of statements that the University was committed to the principle of equity in employment and to the amelioration of conditions of disadvantage of individuals and groups within the system.

Fall, 1987	Recruitment Process Forms and Applicant Survey Forms, developed by the Equity Advisor, were approved for use by General Faculties Council and the Board of Governors.
October, 1987	The Equity Advisor spoke to the association of Academic Staff about the Federal Contractors Program and its implications.
March, 1988	A Senate Progress Review Committee presented a 1987 Progress Review Report: Task Force on the Status of Academic Women. The report concluded that systemic discrimination continued to exist and that full equality of opportunity in employment would take ongoing dedication and effort.
March, 1988	President Horowitz acknowledged to the Senate the University's agreement to comply with federal employment equity requirements. This first public statement on the matter by the President was reported in Folio.
April, 1988	The Equity Advisor conducted a census to determine the numbers of designated group members within the University workforce.
May, 1988	A second professional development workshop for academic staff on implementing employment equity was organized by the Equity Advisor and the University Secretariat.
Spring, 1989	A job reclassification and pay equity system for non-academic staff announced in February was met with considerable hostility by non-academic staff. The President, in March, established a Pay Equity Review Committee which reported in June that an incomplete and faulty plan had been proposed in February.
March, 1989	A memo from the Vice-President (Academic and the President of the Association of Academic staff was circulated to all academic staff along with a booklet called Seeing and Evaluating People ("blue book"). The memo interpreted University employment equity policy as meaning that if a male and female candidate for an academic position are equally qualified, then preference

	should be given to the woman.
May, 1989	The Association of Academic Staff received from the Women's Issues Committee suggested wording for a parental leave clause for inclusion in the Faculty Agreement. The leave would include a 6 week childbirth leave and a 17 week parental leave available to either parent.
September, 1989	President Paul Davenport created a Committee on Job Evaluation Review to oversee the completion of the job reclassification system for non-academic staff. The president also outline, in the September 22 edition of Folio, what he believed constituted the University's employment equity policy. According to his interpretation, employment equity at the University meant: (a) non-discriminatory employment practices; (b) hiring and promotion based only on qualification; (c) an aggressive policy of seeking applications from under represented groups; and (d) a fair structure of job classification and pay.
November, 1989	A Report on the Temporary Academic Staff at the University of Alberta;Interim Discussion Paper - November, 1989 identified a two-tiered system of academic appointments and proposed options for improving the Working conditions and career aspirations of sessional academic staff. On November 27, President Davenport again articulated his interpretation of employment equity policy at the University, reasserting his stance that only the best qualified applicants would be offered positions and that gender and other characteristics would have no role in decisions for hiring, promotion and tenure.
December, 1989	President Davenport established the President's Commission for Equality and Respect on Campus to examine conditions contributing to equality and lack of respect within the University community and to recommend strategies to create an environment reflecting values of equality and respect.

Spring, 1990	A brief to the President's Commission for Equality and Respect on Campus prepared by the Association of Academic Staff Executive and Council was never officially submitted to the Commission. A general meeting of the Association to discuss the brief called by a group of petitioners opposed to the brief delayed its approval until past the submission deadline date.
May, 1990	The Executive and Council of the Association of Academic Staff accepted a proposal from the Women's Issues Committee to develop a policy statement on employment equity for possible consideration by the Association as official AAS:UA policy.
June, 1990	Changes to the "advertising and recruitment" section of the GFC Policy Manual were introduced requiring advertisements for academic positions to contain the statement that the University encouraged "applications from aboriginal persons, disabled persons, members of visible minorities and women".
July, 1990	The Report of the President's Commission for Equality and Respect on Campus was released.
August, 1990	President Davenport announced the creation of an Office of Human Rights in response to the President's Commission's recommendations. Later that fall, a full-time Director and a half-time Human Rights Officer were appointed.
April, 1991	A "Petition to Uphold University Hiring Regulations" was circulated to protest the acceptance by certain Deans and departments of the President's Commission recommended that candidates from the designated groups should be hired unless other candidates were demonstrably better qualified. The petition was sent to President Davenport on April 3.
May, 1991	Vice-President (Academic) Peter Meekison responded to the April petitioners on May 6 explaining that the University was committed to the amelioration of conditions of disadvantage among individuals and groups and that GFC policy allowed for the preferential hiring of qualified members of disadvantaged groups unless other candidates were demonstrably better qualified.

May, 1991	The University received an official request from Employment and Immigration Canada to review the University's employment equity plan as required under the Federal Contractors Program. In response to the University's reply that it did not yet have one, the federal government gave the University one year to develop such a plan.
June, 1991	President Paul Davenport wrote an open letter to the University community on June 19, 1991 explaining for the first time the University's certification under the Federal Contractors Program and indicating the University's intention of complying with the requirements to develop an employment equity plan. In the same communication, the President listed members of a newly-formed employment equity implementation committee, chaired by a representative of the President.

APPENDIX H

PETITION TO UPHOLD UNIVERSITY HIRING REGULATIONS

The regulations of General Faculties Council (GFC) in regard to equity (fairness) in academic hiring state: "Every individual is entitled to be considered without discrimination and in particular, without discrimination because of race, religious beliefs, colour, sex, physical disability, marital status, age, ancestry or place of origin," (48.1.2). Special efforts are to be made to attract member of "under-represented groups" into the pool of applicants for a position; after that is done, the regulations assert, "employment decisions shall be made on the basis of merit." (48.1.2).

Last year, the President's Commission on Equality and Respect on Campus (PCERC) recommended that a policy of preferential hiring replace this one. That could of course be brought about by the usual academic and democratic procedures; open campus debate followed by voting in GFC by the representatives of all faculty constituencies. What is not acceptable is for any of those constituencies or their officers simply to decide on their own to violate university policy on this or any other matter.

Recently, the Department of Religious Studies announced plans to use gender as a criterion in hiring (not just, as already required by GFC, in recruitment). Further, the Dean of Arts has reported that certain departments in the faculty have adopted a policy of hiring members of under-represented groups "unless there is a candidate who is demonstrably better qualified". She has presented that policy to all departments Arts as an acceptable option, asking them to "identify appropriate goals" in the hiring of members of certain groups, instead of informing them that it is in violation of GFC regulations.

It is the duty of the President of this university to enforce the regulations that govern it. Indeed, her has already assured GFC the he will allow no PCERC recommendations falling within its jurisdiction to be implemented unless adopted by GFC. We call on him to direct the Dean of Arts to advise all her departments in writing that preferential hiring plans are in violation of GFC regulations.

APPENDIX I

DEFINITION OF DESIGNATED GROUPS

Native (Aboriginal) People	Status and non-Status Indians, Metis, Inuit.
Disabled People	Any person whose physical or mental disability would appear to limit his or her access to employment opportunities.
Visible Minorities	Non-white people other than native people.
Designated Group Members	Women, native people, disabled persons and visible minorities.
Systemic Discrimination	A general employment condition specific practice or approach to hiring or promotion that applies equally to everyone at the workplace but that negatively affects employment opportunity or advancement for special groups of people.

APPENDIX J

LIST OF LEEP COMPANIES

BANKING SECTOR
- BANCA COMMERCIALE ITALIANA OF CANADA
- BANK OF AMERICA CANADA
- BANK OF CANADA
- BANK OF MONTREAL
- BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA (THE)
- CANADIAN IMPERIAL BANK OF COMMERCE
- CANADIAN WESTERN BANK
- CITIBANK CANADA LIMITED
- CREDIT LYONNAIS CANADA
- CREDIT SUISSE CANADA
- HONGKONG BANK OF CANADA
- LAURENTIAN BANK OF CANADA
- NATIONAL BANK OF CANADA
- NATIONAL BANK OF GREECE (CANADA)
- NATIONAL BANK OF PARIS (CANADA)
- ROYAL BANK OF CANADA
- SOCIETE GENERALE (CANADA)
- TORONTO-DOMINION BANK (THE)

TRANSPORTATION SECTOR
- A.J. BUS LINES LTD.
- ACADIAN LINES LIMITED
- ADBY TRANSPORT LIMITED
- AIR ALLIANCE INC.
- AIR ATLANTIC (1995) LTD.
- AIR BC LIMITED
- AIR CANADA
- AIR CREEBEC (1994) INC.
- AIR FRANCE
- AIR INUIT (1985) LTD.
- AIR NOVA INC.
- AIR ONTARIO INC.
- AIR TRANSAT AT INC.
- ALCA MANAGEMENT LTD.
- ALCAN SMELTERS AND CHEMICALS LIMITED
- ALGOMA CENTRAL CORPORATION
- ALGOMA CENTRAL RAILWAY INC.
- AMERICAN AIRLINES INC.

AMR GROUND HANDLING SERVICES
ARMOUR TRANSPORT INC.
ARNOLD BROS TRANSPORT LIMITED
ARROW TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM INC.
ATLANTIC TOWING LIMITED
ATOMIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM INC.
AUTO HAULAWAY INC.
BC MARITIME EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION
BEARSKIN LAKE AIR SERVICE LIMITED
BIG HORN TRANSPORT LTD.
BISON DIVERSIFIED INC.
BLANCHARD TRANSPORT
BRADLEY AIR SERVICES LIMITED
BRITISH AIRWAYS PLC
BURLINGTON AIR EXPRESS (CANADA) LTD.
BURLINGTON NORTHERN SANTA FE CORP.
BYERS TRANSPORT LIMITED
CAE AVIATION LIMITED
CALGARY AIRPORT AUTHORITY (THE)
CALM AIR INTERNATIONAL LIMITED
CAMVEC CORPORATION
CANADA 3000 AIRLINES LIMITED
CANADA 3000 AIRPORT SERVICES LIMITED
CANADA CARTAGE SYSTEM LIMITED
CANADA MARITIME AGENCIES LIMITED
CANADA MESSENGER AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS INC.
CANADA PORTS CORPORATION
CANADA STEAMSHIP LINES INC.
CANADIAN AIRLINES INTERNATIONAL LTD.
CANADIAN FREIGHTWAYS EASTERNLIMITED
CANADIAN FREIGHTWAYS LIMITED
CANADIAN HELICOPTERS LIMITED
CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS COMPANY
CANADIAN PACIFIC LIMITED
CANADIAN STEVEDORING COMPANY LIMITED
CAST NORTH AMERICA INC.
CATHAY PACIFIC AIRWAYS LIMITED
CHALLENGER MOTOR FREIGHT INC.
CHARTERWAYS TRANSPORTATION LIMITED
CLARKE TRANSPORT
CONAIR AVIATION LTD.
CONSOLIDATED AVIATION FUELING AND SERVICES
CP RAIL - A DIVISION OF CANADIAN PACIFIC LIMITED

CSX TRANSPORTATION INC.
DAY AND ROSS INC.
DELTA AIR LINES INC.
EDMONTON REGIONAL AIRPORTS AUTHORITY
EMERY AIR FREIGHT CORPORATION
EMPIRE STEVEDORING CO LTD.
ERB TRANSPORT LIMITED
EXECAIRE INC.
FEDNAV LIMITED
FIELD AVIATION COMPANY INC.
GD EXPRESS WORLDWIDE (CANADA) INC.
GREY GOOSE CORPORATION LIMITED
GREYHOUND LINES OF CANADA LTD.
GRIMSHAW TRUCKING AND DISTRIBUTING LTD.
HELIJET AIRWAYS INC.
HENDRIE TRANSPORTATION INC.
TRIMBLE AND SONS (1983) LTD.
HOUSEHOLD MOVERS AND SHIPPERS LIMITED
HUDSON GENERAL AVIATION SERVICES INC.
IMPERIAL OIL LIMITED
INCHCAPE SHIPPING SERVICES INC.
INNOTECH AVIATION LIMITED
INTER-CANADIAN (1991) INC.
INTERLINK FREIGHT SYSTEMS INC.
INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION
INTERPROVINCIAL PIPE LINE INC.
J.I. DENURE (CHATHAM) LIMITED
JET TRANSPORT LTD.
KELOWNA FLIGHTCRAFT LTD.
KINDERSLEY TRANSPORT LTD.
KINGCOME NAVIGATION COMPANY
KLEYSEN TRANSPORT LTD.
KLM ROYAL DUTCH AIRLINES
KOCH SERVICE CANADA
KRISKA HOLDINGS LTD.
LAIDLAW CARRIERS INC.
LOGISTEC CORPORATION
LUFTHANSA GERMAN AIRLINES
MARINE ATLANTIC INC.
MARITIME EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION
MCKINLAY TRANSPORT LTD.
MCL RYDER TRANSPORT INC.
MEYERS TRANSPORT LIMITED

MIDLAND TRANSPORT LIMITED
MONTREAL AIRPORTS
MONTREAL PORT CORPORATION
MONTREAL SHIPPING INC.
MULLEN TRUCKING LTD.
MUNICIPAL TANK LINES LIMITED
N. YANKE TRANSFER LTD.
N.M. PATERSON AND SONS LIMITED
NESEL FAST FREIGHT INC.
NEWFOUNDLAND DOCKYARD CORPORATION
NORTH AMERICAN VAN LINES CANADA LTD
NORTHERN TRANSPORTATION COMPANY LTD
NORTHUMBERLAND FERRIES LIMITED
NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL AIRWAYS LTD.
OCEAN SERVICES LIMITED
OK TRANSPORTATION LTD.
ONTARIO EXPRESS
OTTAWA-CARLETON REGIONAL TRANSIT COMMISSION
PAUL'S HAULING LTD.
PEACE BRIDGE BROKERAGE LIMITED
PENETANG-MIDLAND COACH LINES LIMITED
POLE STAR TRANSPORT INC.
PORTER TRUCKING LTD.
PROVINCIAL AIRLINES LIMITED
PROVOST BULK TRANSPORT INC
QUEBEC NORTH SHORE AND LABRADOR RAILWAY
REIMER EXPRESS LINES
RIVTOW MARINE LTD.
ROYAL AVIATION INC.
RYDER TRUCK RENTAL CANADA LIMITED
SASKATCHEWAN TRANSPORTATION COMPANY
SCHNEIDER NATIONAL CARRIERS CANADA
SEA-LAND SERVICE INC.
SEASPAN INTERNATIONAL LTD.
SHARP BUS LINES LTD.
SMT (EASTERN) LIMITED
SOCANAV INC.
SOCIETE DE TRANSPORT DE L'OUTAOUAIS
ST-LAWRENCE SEAWAY AUTHORITY (THE)
SUNBURY TRANSPORT LIMITED
TALLMAN TRANSPORTS LTD.
THOMPSON'S TRANSFER CO LTD.
TIME AIR INC.

- TIPPET RICHARDSON LTD.
- TNT CANADA INC.
- TORONTO HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS (THE)
- TORONTO TERMINALS RAILWAY CO. LTD.
- TRANS MOUNTAIN PIPE LINE COMPANY LTD.
- TRANSCANADA PIPELINES LIMITED
- TRANSPORT CABANO KINGSWAY INC.
- TRANSPORT DESGAGNES INC.
- TRANSPORT PAPINEAU INC.
- TRANSPORT ROBERT (1973) LTEE
- TRANSPORT THIBODEAU-SAGUELAC-MARCAN
- TRANSX LTD.
- TRENTWAY-WAGAR INC.
- TRI-LINE EXPRESSWAYS LTD.
- TRIMAC TRANSPORTATION MANAGEMENT LTD.
- ULS CORPORATION
- US AIR INC.
- VAN-KAM FREIGHTWAYS LTD.
- VANCOUVER INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AUTHORITY
- VANCOUVER PORT CORPORATION
- VIA RAIL CANADA INC.
- VIKING HELICOPTERS LIMITED
- VOYAGEUR COLONIAL LIMITED
- W.J. MOWAT LTD.
- WESTCAN BULK TRANSPORT LTD.
- WESTCOAST ENERGY INC.
- WESTERN STEVEDORING COMPANY LIMITED
- WESTSHORE TERMINALS LTD.
- WILLIAMS MOVING AND STORAGE (BC) LTD.
- YELLOW FREIGHT SYSTEM OF ONTARIO INC.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTOR

- ACC LONG DISTANCE INC.
- AGT LIMITED
- AGT MOBILITY INC.
- BBS ONTARIO INCORPORATED
- BBS SASKATCHEWAN INCORPORATED
- BC TEL
- BELL MOBILITY CELLULAR INC.
- BELL MOBILITY PAGING
- BELL MOBILITY RADIOCOMMUNICATIONS INC.
- BLACKBURN RADIO INC.
- CABLE ATLANTIC INC.

CABLENET, DIVISION OF COGECO CABLE CANADA INC.
CANADA POST CORPORATION
CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
CANADIAN SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS INC.
CANPAR TRANSPORTATION LTD.
CANWEST MARITIME TELEVISION INC.
CANWEST TELEVISION INC.
CFCF INC.
CFCN COMMUNICATIONS INC.
CFRN TELEVISION DIVISION OF ELECTROHOME
CHUM LIMITED
CKCO TELEVISION A DIVISION OF ELECTROHOME
COGECO CABLE (QUEBEC) INC.
COGECO RADIO-TELEVISION INC.
CRAIG BROADCAST SYSTEMS INC.
CTV TELEVISION NETWORK LTD.
D AND D ICS GROUP INC.
DHL INTERNATIONAL EXPRESS LTD.
ED TEL INC.
FEDERAL EXPRESS CANADA LTD.
FONOROLA INC.
FUNDY CABLE LTD.
GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS LIMITED
GOLDEN WEST BROADCASTING LTD.
GREAT PACIFIC INDUSTRIES INC.
ISLAND TELEPHONE COMPANY LTD. (THE)
MARITIME BROADCASTING SYSTEM LIMITED
MARITIME TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE
MAYNE NICKLESS TRANSPORT INC.
MOFFAT COMMUNICATIONS LIMITED
MONARCH BROADCASTING LTD.
MUSIQUEPLUS INC.
NEW BRUNSWICK TELEPHONE CO. LTD. (THE)
NEWCAP LTD.
NEWFOUNDLAND TELEPHONE CO.
NIAGARA TELEVISION LIMITED
NORTHERN TELECOM LIMITED
NORTHERN TELEPHONE LIMITED
NORTHWESTEL INC.
PELMOREX INC. / THE WEATHER NETWORK
PELMOREX RADIO INC.
POWER BROADCASTING INC.
PUROLATOR COURIER LTD.

QUEBEC TELEPHONE
RADIO 1540 LIMITED
RADIO NORD INC.
RAWLCO COMMUNICATIONS LTD.
REGINA CABLEVISION CO-OPERATIVE
RESEAU DES SPORTS (RDS) INC. (LE)
ROGERS CABLE T.V. LIMITED
ROGERS CANTEL MOBILE COMMUNICATION INC.
ROGERS COMMUNICATIONS INCORPORATED
SHAW COMMUNICATIONS INC.
SHAW MOBILECOMM INC.
SHAW RADIO LTD.
SPORTS NETWORK (THE)
SPRINT CANADA INC.
STANDARD RADIO INC.
STENTOR RESOURCE CENTRE INC.
SWIFT SURE COURIER SERVICE LTD.
TELE-METROPOLE INC.
TELEBEC LTEE
TELEGLOBE CANADA INC.
TELEMEDIA COMMUNICATION INC. (TCO)
TELEMEDIA COMMUNICATIONS INC.
TELESAT CANADA
THUNDER BAY TELEPHONE
TMI COMMUNICATIONS, AND COMPANY, LIMITED PARTNERSHIP
TRILLIUM COMMUNICATIONS
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE CANADA LTD.
UNITEL COMMUNICATIONS INC.
VIDEOTRON COMMUNICATIONS LTD.
VIDEOTRON LTD.
WESTCOM RADIO GROUP LTD.
WESTCOM T.V. GROUP LTD.
WINNIPEG VIDEON INCORPORATED
YTV CANADA INC.

OTHER SECTORS
ADM AGRI INDUSTRIES LTD.
AEROGUARD SECURITY SERVICES
AGPRO GRAIN INC.
ALBERTA WHEAT POOL
ATOMIC ENERGY OF CANADA LIMITED
BRINKS CANADA LIMITED

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT BANK OF CANADA
CAMECO CORPORATION
CANADA COUNCIL (THE)
CANADA DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION
CANADA MALTING CO. LIMITED
CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORP.
CANADIAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION
CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION
CANADIAN MUSEUM OF NATURE
CANADIAN PRESS (THE)
CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD
CAPE BRETON DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
CARGILL LIMITED
COGEMA RESOURCES INC.
DEFENCE CONSTRUCTION (1951) LIMITED
EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
FARM CREDIT CORPORATION
FEED-RITE LTD.
FRESHWATER FISH MARKETING CORPORATION
GENERAL ELECTRIC CANADA INC.
HUDSON BAY MINING AND SMELTING CO. LIMITED
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
LOOMIS ARMORED CAR SERVICES LTD.
MANITOBA POOL ELEVATORS
MAPLE LEAF MILLS-MEMBER MAPLE LEAF FOODS
MASTERFEEDS A DIVISION OF AGP INC.
N.M. PATERSON AND SONS LIMITED
NATIONAL ARTS CENTRE CORPORATION
NATIONAL CAPITAL COMMISSION
NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
NORDION INTERNATIONAL INC.
PACIFIC ELEVATORS LIMITED
PARRISH AND HEIMBECKER LIMITED
PIONEER GRAIN COMPANY LIMITED
PIONEER GRAIN TERMINAL LIMITED
PRINCE RUPERT GRAIN LTD.
REUTERS INFORMATION SERVICES (CANADA)
RICHARDSON TERMINALS LIMITED

RIO ALGOM LIMITED
ROBIN HOOD MULTIFOODS INC.
ROYAL CANADIAN MINT
SASKATCHEWAN WHEAT POOL
TELEFILM CANADA
TELUS MANAGEMENT SERVICES INC.
THERATRONICS INTERNATIONAL LTD.
TROPPUS INC.
UNITED GRAIN GROWERS LIMITED
VERREAULT NAVIGATION INC.
ZIRCATEC PRECISION INDUSTRIES INC.